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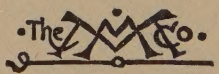
CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION



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CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

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LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE
AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AUBURN, N. Y.
ON THE RUSSELL FOUNDATION, EASTER WEEK, 1922

BY

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PREFACE

Portions of the contents of this book were presented in a course of six lectures before the Faculty and students of Auburn Theological Seminary. It was not possible, however, in the allotted time to deliver the material of even six of the chapters. I have enlarged each original chapter, and have added Chapter IX.—"The Way of the Humanists"; Chapter XII.—"Conclusions on the Way of Salvation, Continued"; and Chapter XIII.—"A Credible Creed." Notwithstanding these additions I feel that much more is required for a complete discussion of the subject.

When I chose the subject,—CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION,—it was not my purpose to define and to discuss theories of the atonement that have been expounded in many books, pamphlets, and articles; nor did I aim to describe in detail the various methods by which the work of salvation is carried on by the churches. I tried, rather, to set forth the ideals and principles which control the process of salvation, as that is conceived of by the various Pagan and Christian groups. The foremost questions are:—Whence does salvation come? How is it given? How is it appropriated? How is it expressed in doctrine, institutions, and deed?

I am convinced that the answers to these questions determine the conceptions of God, of Christ, and of the Christian life: in other words, changes in soteri-

ology require corresponding modifications in theology, christology, and ethics; yes, also, in the spirit and form of worship, in the mode of government and discipline, and in the motives and manner of Christian living. Indeed, the different Christian churches have arisen because the founder of each was convinced that he had discovered a way of salvation truer to the way of Jesus and the apostles than the way of any of the existing churches. The fundamental difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, as well as that between the various branches of Protestantism, is to be found in the way of salvation. If there could be agreement on that point, it would not be difficult to harmonize the other differences. In this view of the formative significance of the idea of salvation, I was confirmed by Bartlett and Carlyle in their recent work, "Christianity in History," the controlling thesis of which is expressed in the words: "A religion is moulded by its idea of salvation. It is in this that continuity of type mainly consists and may be brought to the test."

It is my purpose, also, to present a point of view and an attitude toward the fundamental facts of the Christian revelation, the experience of Christians, and the results of historical and scientific scholarship, according to which one may be soundly evangelical without reverting to a static, intolerant dogmatism, or falling into a destructive and equally intolerant radicalism. If Christianity is the power that saves men, it must be kept free from the blight of institutionalism and officialism, on the one hand; and from the frost of rationalism and self-dependent humanism, on the other. The one thing that ought to bind Christians of all churches into a common fellowship is the experience of the saving power of God through Jesus

Christ, who inspires and enables men to live and labor for his Kingdom.

In so comprehensive a survey of Pagan and Christian ways of salvation, few men would attempt to base all their conclusions on original sources. I, at least, profess to have made use, in a number of the chapters, of the most recent and trustworthy authorities. In the footnotes I have mentioned the names of some of the authors whose books and articles I have consulted. I desire especially to call the attention of the reader to Professor Kilpatrick's articles, in Hastings' "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," on "Salvation (Christian" and on "Soteriology," respectively, these are of unusual excellence and were most helpful to me in the preparation of Chapter III. As a rule, where I quote from German books, I am responsible for the English translation.

For valuable suggestions as to literary form and for aid in the reading of the proof, I am indebted to Professor C. Nevin Heller, Librarian in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa., and to my Secretary, the Rev. William A. Korn, Ph.D., through whose patient and persevering assistance I was enabled to prepare the manuscript for the printer's hands.

Theological Seminary,
Lancaster, Pa.
January 5, 1923.

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CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

I

PRE-CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

I

PRE-CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

CHAPTER I

THE QUEST FOR SALVATION

The idea of salvation grew apace with religion. Traces of it are found in the earliest stages of human life. It is neither a passing experience of savagery nor a refined product of culture. Gilbert Murray[1] says: "Religion, even in the narrow sense, is always looking for Soteria, for escape, for some salvation from the terror to come, or some deliverance from the body of this death." Professor Ellwood[2] says: "The end of all religion is in social and personal salvation, in help over the difficulties and redemption from the evils of life." The ways of salvation vary as widely as the grades of culture and religion from primitive to present man. The variance in kind and degree becomes clear when we follow the evolution of religion from its lowest to its highest form.

I

In its earliest stage[3] religion must have been the reaction of primeval man to the universe as a whole.

[1] "The Religion of a Man of Letters," p. 6.
[2] "The Reconstruction of Religion," p. 37.
[3] Anthropologists distinguish seven stages in the evolution of religion, i.e., of man's idea of the divine, namely: manaism, animism,

The impact of the world upon him and his response to it are the elemental factors of religion. This stage may have been as many millenniums back of "belief in spiritual beings," which Tylor calls the essence of religion, as the Apostles' Creed is in advance of the first ideas of spirits, ghosts, and gods. These beginnings we can hardly comprehend; for it is almost impossible for us to divest ourselves of the accumulated heritage of prehistoric and historic ages, to transport ourselves into the dawn of time, and to "think savage" again.

Yet, to have even a vague idea of his religion, of the state of his mind when he first faced the powers of nature, we shall have to roam with naked, houseless, and weaponless man through forests primeval, over lake and fen, by seaside and upon mountain-top; to gaze with him into the blinding blaze of noon and the starlit depths of night, and to feel the thrill that shot through his frame and made his heart beat faster and his eye glow brighter. In circumstances like these religion was born in the soul of man.

We may call it a *thrill* in the presence of a *mystery;* and in these were hid all the possibilities and potencies of the religions of the ages. There were then, as now, though they were as yet unnamed and undefined, two factors in religion, the divine and the human, the objective and the subjective; reduced to their lowest terms, the one may be called a mystery, the other an emotion. To interpret the mystery and to express the emotion is the religious task of the race.

totemism, ancestor worship, polytheism, henotheism, and monotheism. These stages are not always sharply delimited, but often overlap and exist side by side; but they mark, none the less, definite grades in the evolution of the religious consciousness. See Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," pp. 24, 48–50.

The later definitions of religion are attempts of theologians and philosophers to put into words its essential and common elements. They, of course, presuppose a degree of spiritual development far in advance of that of primitive man. Yet they point to things latent in the earliest thrill and mystery. Among the notable definitions we shall cite the following, without passing judgment upon any of them: "a sense of absolute dependence" (Schleiermacher); "a desire which manifests itself in prayer, sacrifice, and faith" (Feuerbach); "a sense of our duties as based on divine law" (Kant); "a faculty of the mind which enables us to grasp the infinite independently of sense and reason" (Max Müller); "a belief in spiritual beings" (Tylor); "a universal sociomorphism, . . . the sense of dependence in relation to the wills which primitive man places in the universe" (Guyau);[4] "the consciousness of the highest social values" (E. S. Ames).

II

Ages before men thought of the mystery as spirits, helpful or harmful, they had no more than a vague sense of power above and about them. The extraordinary phenomena that awakened wonder, the dust cloud, gigantic physical strength, bodily abnormities like epilepsy or deformity of limb, the ever-recurring mysteries of birth, life, death, and the effect of certain liquors,—all these phenomena were ascribed to supernatural power, though the word was not then in use.

[4] Reinach, "Orpheus," p. 2; also Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," pp. 46–48.

The Malayans called it *mana;*[5] the American Indians *manitou.* It worked in the spell of the sorcerer, in the curse and the blessing, in the herbs or the crystals of the medicine man. The steam rising from a hot stone sizzling in water, the hooting owl and the howling wolf at night, were manitou. Wherever one felt a shudder or a thrill, there was manitou. It worked everywhere, entered into everything, in nature and man. Men met at certain places and times and, with the aid of music and dance, tried to control the mysterious force for their benefit. These were the first religious services, held under the open sky, in the forest gloom; and the feelings of the heart were wrapped in the swaddling clothes of savage words.[6]

Time came when men animized mana and turned it into spirits, strange beings,—part Caliban, part Ariel,—hiding in nooks and dells, sporting in rippling brooks, splashing in ocean waves, sighing in the winds, riding upon clouds, guiding the stars, dwelling in the sun. There were nymphs, Nereids, Oreads, Dryads, Erinyes. Some were friendly and others hostile; some

[5] "Mana ist eine übernatürliche Kraft, die dem Gebiet des Unsichtbaren angehört, aber zugleich als eine Art Materie, als ein Kraftfluidum aufgefasst wird." (Mana is a kind of supernatural force belonging to the realm of the invisible, but is at the same time regarded as a kind of material, as a forceful fluid.)—Tiele, "Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte," p. 25, 4 Aufl.

"It is, moreover, becoming increasingly probable that the earliest form of this cosmic sense (if so I may call it) was not a belief in definite and manlike 'spirits,' but rather a feeling for that indefinable, impersonal, all-pervading power, which the Iroquois called *orenda,* the Algonquins *manitou,* the Sioux *wakonda,* the Melanesians *mana;* but which, under whatever name, is conceived as the ultimate source of power, the controller of happiness, the determiner of destiny."—Pratt, "The Religious Consciousness," pp. 261–262.

[6] Giddings, "The Responsible State," pp. 5, 6.

killed and others made alive. Faint echoes[6a] of this time are heard in the Ninety-first Psalm:

For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence . . .
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day;
For the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.

With a keen intuition of reality, men were not content to animize the powers of nature, but took a step further and humanized them. They sought their "flesh" "in the Godhead." They made gods after their own image: out of the powers of nature and the passions of the soul they created deities who controlled the physical world and ruled tribes and nations. In the words of Professor Ames, "the growth and objectification of the god goes hand in hand with the social experience and achievements of the nation." [7] Zeus was the god of the sky, Demeter of the earth, Poseidon of the sea. "From the womb of the dark enigma that haunted him in the beginning there emerges into the charmed light of a world of ideal grace a pantheon of fair and concrete personalities." [8] The age of myth and legend, the naïve theology of primitive man, began. The great gods take their thrones and preside over the affairs of men,—provide, protect, and guide. Yea, one supreme ruler of the heavens and the earth, of gods and men, is adored under different names in different lands. In Israel he is Yahwéh. Light is his garment, clouds are his

[6a] Mowinckel in his *Psalmenstudien* (1921) claims that the authors of the Psalms felt themselves haunted and pursued by witches, spirits, and demons.

[7] "Psychology of Religious Experience," p. 113; see also Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," p. 57.

[8] Dickinson, "The Greek View of Life," p. 3.

chariot, the winds are his messengers, flames of fire his ministers (Psalm 104). In the Rig-Veda he is "Prajāpati: "Thou art the one—and there's no other—who dost encompass all these born entities!" [9] In the Upanishads the ultimate being, the unity in infinite diversity, designated variously as "it," "this," "he," is Brahma, or Purusha (the person or the soul), or, especially, Atman. In Egypt Serapis alone "is adored by kings as by private persons, by the wise as by the foolish, by the great as by the small." [10] In the Iliad we read of "Father Zeus, that rulest from Ida, most glorious, most great." [11]

In prophecy and psalmody, in poetry and philosophy, God is celebrated as one. Polydæmonism and polytheism make way for monotheism, theistic or pantheistic. In the words of Rhys-Davids ("Buddhism," p. 21), "the fact is, that, whenever there is sufficient intelligence and sufficient leisure in a country where the soul theory is held, there, by a logical process which is inevitable, men will come to believe in a number of gods; and then, later on, to perceive a unity behind the many, and to postulate a single divinity as the supposed source of the many gods whom they themselves have really fashioned."

While gods were humanized and unified, they were also ethicized. The Deity is not merely an arbitrary king, a capricious oriental despot, but a holy and righteous ruler and judge. These qualities he demands of his people: "Be ye holy, for I am holy." "Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness, and speaketh

[9] Bloomfield, "Religion of the Veda," p. 241.
[10] Aristides, in Serapid, p. 89, quoted in Legge, "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity," I. p. 58.
[11] Iliad III. 276. Lang, Leaf and Meyers translation, p. 57.

truth in his heart." [12] He finds no satisfaction in the customary, heartless routine of a ritual. He is not pleased "with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil." "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God?" [13]

Men called upon God as a father who loves, forgives, and cares for his people. He is a good shepherd, who feeds his flock, gathers the lambs with his arms and carries them in his bosom, and gently leads those that are with young. "When Israel was a child," cries the prophet Hosea, "then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I held them. I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love." The great Unknown Prophet outdid even Hosea, when he said: "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, saith the Lord." And now men of all colors and creeds look heavenward and cry: "Our Father, who art in heaven."

Not alone in the scriptures of Jew and Christian are there evidences of the justice and mercy of God. The voice of a penitent is heard from the palace of Assur-banipal, saying:

O my god, my sins are many, my transgressions are great;
I sought for help and none took my hand.

. . . . . .

To my god, the merciful one, I turn myself, I utter my prayer.
The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears.
O Lord cast not away thy servant . . .[14]

[12] Psalm 15:1 *sq.*
[13] Micah 6:8.
[14] Sayce, "The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," pp. 420 *sq.*

Serapis is proclaimed as "Protector and Savior of all men," "most-loving of all gods toward men," "greatly turned towards mercy." Apollo approaches the blood-stained matricide Orestes in the "Eumenides" of Æschylus with words of comfort:

> Thee will I not betray, to thee aye true;
> Near to protect, yet from thee far removed,
> No grace nor favor will I show to those
> Who hate thee.[15]

The author of the speech against Aristogeiton in the fourth century B.C. said: "All mankind have altars dedicated to Justice, Law-abidingness, Pity, the fairest and holiest in the very soul and the nature of each individual." [16] In the words of Legge: "The reign of the warlike gods and goddesses of Homer—always, as Renan says, brandishing a spear from the top of the Acropolis—is over, and instead of them man has at last found

'Gods, the friends of man, merciful gods, compassionate,' who would certainly 'answer him again' as a father would his children." [17]

The hopes, aspirations, and intuitions of men were finally realized in the incarnation, which expresses the essential kinship between God and man. God is humanized without the loss of divine prerogatives, and man is divinized without the loss of human qualities. In Jesus, men became conscious of God as nowhere else. Words failed to convey their conviction

[15] Bousset, "What is Religion," p. 105.
[16] "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Greek Religion," p. 414.
[17] "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity," I. p. 58.

of the dignity of the Man of Nazareth. He is the Messiah, the Logos, the fullness of the Godhead bodily, the Word made flesh. In simple phrase, his disciples were overcome with the idea, which became the tap-root of a new life, that God is like Jesus and that Jesus is like God. This conception of God put men at peace, for in no other as in a Christlike God can men trust; him they can love, in him they can hope, with him and for him they can live and labor.

The original thrill of primitive man had its latent possibilities no less than the mystery which he faced. The thrill grew into worship. At first it was probably no more than a sense of fear, shading into awe; fear and awe blossomed into reverence, and reverence was attended with a feeling of responsibility. The savage felt the need of living on good terms with the spirits of the air. He began to treat his gods as he treated the chief of his tribe. He praised them by action and word. He fed them by sacrifice. He bribed or tipped them with gifts. He did unto the gods as he would that the gods should do unto him. With the development of society, the throne supplied metaphors for the altar, the palace became a pattern for the temple, the prince set the fashion for the priest, politics furnished parables for religion.

The thrill, also, turned into curiosity, and curiosity asked questions. The savage not only feared and revered the mystery, but he became a naïve scientist and inquired into its nature. The naked foresters were the forerunners of Darwin and Haeckel, Spencer and Bergson. They tried to answer the eternal questions, Whence? What? Why? Whither? With them the romance of science began. For science and religion were twin-born. Too often, like Esau and Jacob, they

dwelt apart and waged war against each other. They failed to recognize their kinship and their common purpose, to magnify God and to advance human welfare. Happily they are now approaching each other, and sending gifts on the way that they may meet as brothers.

III

The stages in the evolution of religion have corresponding conceptions of salvation. In its original form the idea of salvation seems to have been rooted in a sense of helplessness and need in the presence of powers playing around man and beyond his control. Fire burned, water drowned, storms uprooted, famine and pestilence left ruin and death in their path. Sunshine warmed, dew refreshed, crystal springs quenched thirst, herbs and trees bore nourishing fruit. There were powers hostile and powers benign. Men were at their mercy, and instinctively felt the need to live at peace with them, to enjoy their aid and to escape their injury. The conviction gained ground that man's destiny is decided by powers outside of him and beyond his control.

Man came also to feel the powers of a world within, as well as about, him. These powers were a part of him, and yet they came upon him and possessed him, so that he was under their control against his will. Here was the beginning of a new conflict, not with the powers of the air, but with the desires and passions of the soul. They were personified and became as real as the sun, the stars, the forests, and the storm. In Greece, for example, Aphrodite was the incarnation of love, Ares of war, Athena of wisdom, Apollo of music, the Furies of the pangs of guilt. They had to be

appeased, implored, and served. In various ways they were to be brought into the service of man for the advancement of his personal and his tribal life. Man's needs were now felt to be inward and spiritual, and the struggle for life and salvation was shifted from the outer to the inner life, from things material to things moral.

Professor Case admirably summarizes the needs of salvation as felt by men at different stages of civilization:

> It [the notion of salvation] arises as soon as man becomes conscious of contact with hostile forces from whose power he seeks deliverance. He may think his enemies to be natural phenomena, such as the cold of winter which threatens him with starvation; or they may be human foes who constantly endanger his life and happiness. They may be untoward social circumstances which lay heavy burdens upon him in every hour of his existence. They may be the impersonal forces of an inexorable destiny in whose meshes he seems hopelessly entangled, or destiny may have become personalized in the form of demonic powers lurking in every shadow ready to pounce upon him any moment. Or he may regard his worst enemy to be gross materialistic existence which chokes and tarnishes his soul shut up in the prison house of the body. Again, he may lament that he has yielded to the wicked impulses of his heart and thus placed his conscience under the burden of sin and guilt. These hostile forces, acting singly or in combination, tend to make man conscious, early in his experience, of the need of salvation.[18]

Broadly speaking, there are two conceptions of salvation. The one is *amelioration*, seeking the betterment of man's condition in the present world with little or no thought of his existence after death. The

[18] "The Evolution of Early Christianity," p. 284.

other is *redemption,* seeking deliverance from the present evil world and entrance into a higher world either here or hereafter.

Man was first concerned about amelioration. His needs were related to his physical well-being. He had to have food, shelter, clothing; protection against injury from floods, earthquakes, drought, fire, famine and pestilence, the spirits of the dead and the caprice of the gods, wild beasts and savage men; healing of disease, and help in battle or the chase. To live his life courageously, triumphantly, and joyously, he had to make peace with his surroundings. Without divine prescription or traditional plan, he devised ways to ward off or to conciliate the harmful, and to please the helpful, powers.

The early Vedic hymns are mostly concerned with earthly goods; their aim and outlook is limited to the present life. The benefits sought are those conducive to temporal well-being and enjoyment; and the only conscious need is deliverance from the adverse conditions of the present life, and an advance to a state of existence more richly blest with earthly goods. "The future beyond the grave was not illuminated by a hope which made the present life seem valueless by comparison." [19] The Greek burghers sacrificed to the gods that they might obtain health, riches, children. Theirs was not an ethical, but a legal conception of religion, in which God and man were bound by the terms of a contract. To the ancient Teuton salvation meant riddance of the things that were evil and harmful, and preservation against destruction, danger, and calamity. Of evil spirits there were many kinds,—

[19] Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Salvation," p. 133.

dwarfs, giants, dragons, kobolds; there were witches, wizards, sorcerers, and enchanters, with their arts and incantations for the annoyance and the injury of man. From their malign influence the Teuton sought salvation.[20] Wells, in his "Outline of History," says:

> Confusedly under the stimulus of the need and possibility of coöperation and a combined life, Neolithic mankind was feeling out for guidance and knowledge. Men were becoming aware that personally they needed protection and direction, cleansing from impurity, power behind their own strength. Confusedly in response to that demand, bold, wise men, shrewd and cunning men, were arising to become magicians, priests, chiefs, and kings. They are not to be thought of as cheats or usurpers of power, nor the rest of mankind as their dupes. All men are mixed in their motives; a hundred things move them to seek ascendancy over other men; but not all such motives are base or bad.[21]

The idea of ameliorating the conditions in which men live here, by the favor of the gods and the aid of superhuman powers, is usually followed by the conception of deliverance from the present, and entrance into a higher, order of life, either now or in the future. This change of view takes place for various reasons. Long ages of experience convince men of the insufficiency and the vanity of the merely temporal life, whether of the individual or of the group. The history of the Greek people affords a concrete illustration. "Amid the discouragements of the sixth century, the ebb of colonization, the internal wars, the fall of Sybaris and of the half-divine Nineveh, came, turning away from this life to the next, the setting of the heart on supernatural bliss above the reach of war and

[20] *Idem*, p. 149.
[21] Vol. I. p. 134.

accident." [22] Men desire to be free from life's pettiness, narrowness, necessities, delusions, and ills: the nobler self seeks deliverance from this body of death. For man feels himself superior to nature and chafes under the limitations of his sensuous life. He is ready to mortify himself by ascetic practices, to forget himself in mystic contemplation, to rise above himself in ecstatic exaltation and be submerged in God. The desire is rooted in a new valuation of the qualities of the spiritual life,—purity, temperance, knowledge, justice, love, mercy. This is naturally attended by the enrichment of the idea of God with ethical characteristics, and by the effort to find satisfaction for the highest aspirations in fellowship and kinship with him.

There is, moreover, an ever-widening gap between the soul and God, between things as they are and things as they ought to be. The barrier to fellowship is commonly defined as "world,"—the material, ephemeral, selfish elements of life, which come to be known also as "sin." To overcome the estrangement, to surmount the barrier, to escape from the bondage of the body and of time and space, to get rid of sin, by magic or mystery, by sacrament or ritual, by knowledge or morals, is the meaning and aim of salvation.

When a religion rises to this conception of a life above the local and the temporal, it ceases to be provincial or national, and becomes universal and international. Its blessings are inward and spiritual,—forgiveness, purity, goodness,—and are independent of color, time, or clime. Buddhism, Parseeism, and Christianity are religions of this kind, each seeking deliverance from the world and the attainment of the

[22] Gilbert Murray, "Literature of Ancient Greece," pp. 64, 65.

supreme good by a return of the soul, in one way or another, to the Ultimate Being of the universe.

The meaning of salvation, accordingly, varies with the ends in view. When physical and temporal welfare is most desired, men's hearts are bent upon a Canaan flowing with milk and honey, secure from invading foes and free from harassing circumstances. When men feel themselves bound by fate, they have recourse to magic formulas and charms, by which the divine decree may be evaded. When the soul chafes under the limitations of the body, is stained by its lusts and hampered by its infirmities, deliverance from the prison, purging from impurities, and freedom to soar into ethereal realms are devoutly to be wished. When sin and guilt become the chief burden of life, men cry out for redemption and long for the holiness and righteousness of God.

The ways of salvation are determined by the conception of its aim and content as well as of the character of the gods. The aid of superhuman powers is sought either by compulsion or by propitiation, each a reflection of the tendencies in human nature either to take a thing by force or to obtain it by suasion. To put it in another form, salvation is to be procured either by sacrifice or by self-conquest. In the one case, God saves men, though men may coöperate with him; in the other, men save themselves, though God may coöperate with them.

The gods are supposed, by primitive people, to be compelled by the invoking of their names and the accurate observance of proper ceremonies. In return for these performances the benefits demanded will necessarily follow, without regard to the applicant's

state of mind or the disposition of the deity. Maspero, in his "Egyptology," [23] says: "Prayer was a formula of which the terms had imperative value and the exact enunciation of which obliged the god to concede what was asked of him." There are scholars, like Lord Avebury and Dr. Frazer, who hold that, in the earliest stage of religion among the tribes generally, men trusted entirely to their supposed powers of compulsion in their dealings with the invisible world, and that the attempt to propitiate it developed out of this at a later period.[24]

Propitiation of the gods is supposed to be effected by gifts, services, and sacrifices. It is assumed that they bestow blessings freely, and not of necessity. Men worship for the purpose of winning divine favor, and not to force divine gifts. For their daily food they ally themselves with the powers of nature that provide the things needful for the body; in battle they put their trust for victory over the foe in a tutelary god; for social justice in times of tyranny and oppression, they call upon the god who works righteousness; in their conflict with the spirits of the air and the passions of the soul, they are sustained and upheld by divine grace, which makes them more than conquerors.

The time comes, at a certain stage of human culture, when men are disposed to rely upon themselves, more than upon the gods, for salvation. It is the way of self-conquest of the will guided by the reason,—the ideal of the Greeks from Socrates onward. Of salvation, as understood by the Jews, Morris Joseph says: "No superhuman ally is needed by the atoning soul.

[23] Vol. I. p. 163.
[24] Legge, "Forerunners and Rivals," I. p. 91.

The forces in the sinner's own breast suffice." [25] In this respect there is much in common between Platonism, Stoicism, Judaism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and modern humanism.[26]

The idea of redemption by divine power was taught in the oriental mysteries which prevailed in Greece in the fourth century before Christ. Among these were the mysteries of Orpheus, Dionysus, Eleusis, Mithra. They have so much in common that they may be regarded as a new stage in the history of religion and of the idea of redemption.

These brought to many a Greek a stronger intensity of religious life. The traditional cult of his phratry, tribe, or city, failed to satisfy his craving for things divine. He shifted his interest from the physical and political world around him to the spiritual world beyond the grave. By initiation he entered into fellowship with those who are partakers of the blessings of the cult, and became a member of a religious congregation instead of a political community. His primary concern was his personal salvation, not the welfare of the tribe or nation in which he had lost hope. He entered upon a fellowship which death will not interrupt and which will continue in eternity. Herodotus tells us how the Thracians used to gather, weeping, round a newborn child, bewailing his entry into this miserable world; while they rejoiced over the death of any of their fellows, declaring that he had thus obtained a happy deliverance from his troubles.[27] The blessings that men now craved were promised by the mysteries in a life after death.

[25] Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 138.

[26] On redemption and its attainment, see Case, "Evolution of Early Christianity," pp. 285–287.

[27] Book V. c. 4. Legge I. p. 136.

Blessed are the men who have beheld; he who has not part in the consecrations will not have a similar lot after death in the damp darkness of Hades.[28]

To them alone is life in Hades; to others it is all torment.[29]

At an earlier time the mysteries were a part of the nature religions through which provision was made for crops and herds and social needs. But later the welfare of the individual soul became uppermost. Men looked to the deity—who formerly guaranteed the perpetuity of nature's life—to give the individual a similar assurance. "Thus a god which existed at first as a redeemer of vegetation became a redeemer of souls."

Union with the deity was effected through various means, such as dramatic representation of the birth and life, the death and resurrection, of a god; the use of sacred ablutions and sacramental foods, and other rites of purification and enduement; the recital of mystic dogmas and the communication of secret formulas. In this way the soul presumably was cleansed, and mystic fellowship with god was obtained, upon which the assurance of personal immortality was based. In the words of Farnell, "the spirit of Dionysos lifted the votary above the conventional, moral, human life to wild joy of self-abandonment, the ecstasy of communion with God." [30]

Professor Case says:

The human spirit, conscious of its frailty and helpless at the loss of the older sanctions, eagerly turned toward

[28] Hymn to Demeter; see Rohde, "Psyche," p. 280.
[29] Sophocles; see Rohde, "Psyche," p. 294.
[30] Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Greek Religion," p. 409.

those cults which offered a personal salvation based upon a divine redemptive transaction. Among the oriental religions of redemption which attempted to meet this situation, Christianity was the last to arise, but it ultimately triumphed over all its rivals.[31]

[31] "The Evolution of Early Christianity," pp. 329, 330. See also Chap. IX.

CHAPTER II

AMELIORATION AND REDEMPTION

It is beyond our scope and ability to discuss the ways of salvation of all the ethnic religions. We shall, therefore, consider the ideas of salvation only of the primitive stages of religion and of the more highly developed religions or philosophies of the Hindus and the Greeks.

I

The first attempts to control material and spiritual forces for the amelioration of men's condition were made through magic, which operates mediately or immediately. Certain curative or fructifying virtues, for example, are presumed to reside in a stone; sickly or barren women sit upon it, or linger near it, expecting help according to their needs. Men may be filled with mysterious power, somewhat as the body is charged with electricity; and such power is supposed to be drawn from fountains, plants, trees, animals—especially from their blood,—and from men of a certain kind.

Magic works, also, through magicians and mediums, who have discovered the secret of the control of nature and the spirits. They are masters of formulas, incantations, naïve liturgical transactions either sacrificial or sacramental. They heal, fertilize, comfort,

inspire, enrich, and win victories. They work by adjuration, conjuration, exorcising, and banning. They are experts in the interpretation of dreams and visions, and are able to declare the will of the gods through strange phenomena of nature and human life. They have power to call up the dead and to consult invisible spirits. The range of the sway of magic extends all the way from the soothsaying of nomadic tribes to the astrology of Tycho Brahe and Philip Melanchthon.

The magician may abuse his power and as often be hostile as friendly to men. Ways have been devised to circumvent his evil designs. The conflict between magic and counter-magic is the actual struggle for life among primitive men. For, most of the ills which afflict their lives—sickness, insanity, accidents, defeats, and failures generally—are ascribed to the malign operations of sorcerers and witches whose superhuman power is not controlled by an ethical purpose. The higher stages of religion sound the note of warning against the deceptions of magic and the wiles of witchcraft, yet these are the crude beginnings, the toddling first-steps, in religious life.[1]

[1] In India magic was forbidden, even in the Vedic period. As a rule, magic—especially the "black" or evil sort—was considered the worst enemy of religion. Notwithstanding the prohibition of it, magic was practised by the Brahmins, who claimed for themselves, and only themselves, the right to engage in sorcery. They were the possessors of the secret formulas, and changed the whole of religion into magic, claiming to compel the gods by their art. (Tiele, "Kompendium," 4 Aufl. pp. 248, 249.)

"At the earliest level of culture there plainly can be, for us, no distinction between religious ceremonies and magic rites." (Pratt, "The Religious Consciousness," p. 264.) Anthropologists generally trace the beginnings of magic to the same fundamental processes in the primitive mind as religion. Marett says: "The two fundamental concepts underlying both magic and religion are those of spirit and power." See Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," p. 35.

At this stage religious activity proceeds from premises wholly different from those which underlie our view of the world. Men have no thought of the law of cause and effect, of uniformity in nature, of an ethical order to which both gods and men must conform. Nor is there a sense of historical continuity, or of the need of historical records by which the experience of the past is preserved for the instruction of the present and the future. Men do not feel themselves wholly distinct from nature; they are, as yet, mere pendants of a cosmic process. The lines of division between man and beast and plant are dimly drawn. Men are supposed to descend from animals, and animals at times turn into humans. There is just enough sense of independence in men to urge them to control natural power for their own immediate amelioration, without seeking to rise above, or to transform, their surroundings. Religion is largely a private concern, and the motive of social coöperation plays scarcely any part. Everything grows out of the material needs of the individual. This period in human development is the time of the arbitrary, the capricious, the mechanical, and the egoistic.

Yet here are the first evidences of religion. Men reach outward and upward for help. They cannot live their lives alone. They have the feeling of dependence, fear, trust, hope, responsibility. The magician, after all, is the primitive priest, and the cry of the savage in distress is the first prayer to high heaven. Many of the practices of magic live on in the higher religions. In the rituals of enlightened nations there are survivals of the crude superstitions of primitive men.[2]

[2] Tiele, "Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte," 4 Aufl. pp. 248–250.

II

In the higher stages of religious development men catch glimpses of life above and beyond the present order. They naturally contrast the material and the spiritual, and seek deliverance from the one and attempt to rise into the other. This distinction is not drawn in the national religions, which make the welfare of the nation the highest good and the ultimate goal. The individual finds his satisfaction in the prosperity of the group, for which he lives and labors. He is constrained by the idea of amelioration to make the most of the life that now is. With the dawning consciousness of a higher and better life, the redemptive religions begin. Men then devise ways of salvation to escape the limitations of the material and the temporal, and to enjoy the freedom of the spiritual and the eternal. They discover that life is more than the food, and the body than the raiment. The desire of the heart is fixed on things above. Then the earthly life, even at its best, is no longer regarded as an end in itself, but merely as a way toward that end.

Religions of this kind do not depend upon external supports and instruments, but become purely spiritual and inward. The bond of fellowship is neither national nor social. As men once felt themselves distinct from nature and superior to it, they now stand apart from the nation and seek their ultimate goal above it. Sects are formed, in which men are bound together by common spiritual needs and by common observance of a specific way of salvation; as, for example, the Epicureans, the Cynics, and the Stoics. The religious congregation supersedes the family,

phratry, tribe, or state. The reach of redemption is cosmopolitan, including men of all nations and tongues. The supreme good is variously defined as an invisible and spiritual realm entered through death, as absorption into the absolute being who is back of the transient phenomena of the universe, or as the advent of a new spiritual and social order, a new heaven and a new earth here and now.

Ideas and ways of redemption have been developed in the more enlightened nations of the Orient and the Occident; but in the most refined forms, Palestine excepted, in India and in Greece. Before we consider the characteristics of salvation in these lands, we shall define certain presuppositions which underlie the conception of salvation in general.

The religions of redemption grow out of a sense of the worthlessness, misery, vanity, and failure of earthly existence. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hellenism, and Christianity are based upon a pessimistic view of the world.[3] "The whole world lieth in the evil one" (I John 5:19), says the author of the First Epistle of John. Paul reiterates the phrase, "this present evil world" (Galatians 1:4). From a South Indian folk-song we hear the sad lament:

> How many births are past, I cannot tell:
> How many yet to come, no man can say;
> But this I know and know full well,
> That pain and grief embitter all the way.[4]

Plato, opposed by his contemporaries at every turn, speaks of himself as "one who, in storm and dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along, retires

[3] Deussen, "Philosophy of the Upanishads," p. 140.
[4] Quoted in Morrison, "New Ideas in India."

under the shelter of a wall." In Athens there was no room for his Ideal Republic. "The eternal note of sadness" is heard in modern as well as in ancient times, wafted by the breeze over the ruins of Babylon and Greece, of France and Belgium. The conclusion of the whole matter is, "vanity of vanities, all is vanity,"—the experience at the root of the doctrine of total depravity. Matthew Arnold, in his "Resignation," sings,—

> . . . A life
> With large results so little rife,
> Though bearable, seems hardly worth
> This pomp of worlds, this pain of birth.

Bertrand Russell,[5] in his "Logic and Mysticism," reaches a rhetorical but disheartening conclusion—the last result of the scientific method:

> The life of Man is a long march through the night, surrounded by invisible foes, tortured by weariness and pain, towards a goal that few can hope to reach, and where none may tarry long. . . .
>
> Brief and powerless is Man's life; on him and all his race the slow, sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way; for Man condemned to-day to lose his dearest, to-morrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it remains only to cherish, ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day.[6]

[5] Russell is described by H. E. Fosdick in the *Congregationalist*, January 5, 1922, p. 13, as "professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, England, and one of the keenest intellects of the western world. In social theory he is an ardent Communist; in spiritual attitude he is violently anti-religious. . . . During his stay in Peking he has been frankly and publicly living with his paramour, Miss Black, while his wife is divorcing him in England, and Miss Black has been lecturing to Chinese student audiences on the glories of free love."

[6] Pp. 56, 57.

In the midst of an evil world men, however, respond to the appeal of the heavenly vision. A spark disturbs their clod. They aspire to rise above the temporal and material into the eternal and the spiritual. They are true to that impulse of which Aristotle speaks when he declares that all things, by an intuition of their own nature, seek their perfection.

Salvation is obtained either by human effort or by divine act, or by the coöperation of both. In man's effort, one of three tendencies may predominate, the intellectual, the moral, or the emotional. These three often blend in the attempt to reach the goal. In God's act, it may be the dictation of laws, the revelation of truth, or the impartation of grace. Salvation may mean deliverance of the individual, or of the group, from life itself or from the evils of life,—deliverance present or future, but always deliverance, by special effort, human or divine or both, from the world about us and within us.

The primary aim of the religions and philosophies of India is deliverance from the weariness and sorrow which are associated with life upon earth. The various sects may differ in their views of the way of deliverance, but all agree in their search for deliverance from the present evil life and in their efforts to be transported into a state of peace without penalty or pain. Long ages of experience have convinced the Hindus that freedom and happiness cannot be obtained in our temporal existence, and therefore in one way or another they seek redemption not only from the limitations and bondage of time and space, from the passions and privations of the material order, but from life itself, that they may reach the unchanging and passionless existence.

Tiele, in his "Kompendium" (p. 235), describes three ways of salvation in India; not infrequently, however, they are combined in practice. The first is by works, sacrifices, and ascetic practices, as in the Vedas; the second is by knowledge, as in Brahmanism; and the third is by faith, surrender, and love, as in Hinduism as a whole. Buddhism represents salvation through knowledge, though in some of its forms surrender to the redeeming Godhead is emphasized.

We shall consider two systems of salvation as distinctive products of India. The one is worked out in the philosophy of the Vedanta, the other in the religion or philosophy of Buddha.[7]

III

In the doctrine of the Vedanta the Hindu way of thinking reaches its most satisfactory philosophical expression.[8] The Upanishads (apart from the later and less important books) have been handed down to us as Vedanta, *i.e.*, as the concluding part of the Brahmanas and Âranyakas, which teach and expound allegorically the ritual of sacrifice (Deussen). The teaching of the Upanishads is radically opposed to the entire Vedic sacrificial cult. Later, however, this opposition was concealed by allegorical interpretation, and the Brahmans claimed the doctrine of the âtman

[7] Deussen reminds us that when philosophy is turned into a means for escape from evil or suffering, it is a symptom of exhaustion. "Philosophy is originally based upon a pure desire for knowledge and knows no other name than the search for truth. Only when this desire is weakened does philosophy become a mere means to an end, a *remedium* for the suffering of existence. This was the case in Greece in the schools that succeeded Aristotle; also in India in the Sâkyha system and in Buddhism."—"The Philosophy of the Upanishads," p. 254.

[8] Chantepie de la Saussaye, "Religionsgeschichte," II. p. 61.

(the essence of man's being) as their peculiar heritage. This seems to be the significance of the verse, "Only he who knows the Veda comprehends the great omnipresent âtman." [9]

The central idea of the Vedanta [10] is the identity of the Brahma [11] and the âtman (of the world soul and the human soul). This is briefly taught in the Vedic words: *"That art thou,"* and *"I am Brahma."* The soul of man is not simply a part or an emanation of the Brahman, but it is the eternal and undivided Brahman, complete and whole. The knowledge of Brahman at once transports a man into the state of absolute salvation. In the Rig-Veda, the hope of going to the gods after death was transformed into a hope of attaining "community of life" with Brahma.

The problem of redemption is to deliver the âtman from a separate and individual existence; for such a state involves suffering and sorrow. Deliverance cannot be obtained by works; for these, both good and bad, require recompense in a new mode of existence through transmigration. Nor can moral purifications free men from bondage, for purification of some *one* or some *thing* presupposes capability of changing. The âtman, however, is unchangeable. Redemption, therefore, cannot consist in becoming something or pursuing something; but only in knowledge of that which already is, but through ignorance is hid. He who has recognized that "I am Brahma" (*aham brahma asim*), or "thou art it" (*tat twam asi*), he already *is,* not *will be,* delivered; he sees through the

[9] Deussen, "The Upanishads," p. 396.

[10] See Chantepie de la Saussaye, "Religionsgeschichte," II. p. 61 *sq.*

[11] The "Brahman usurped the place of the ancient Vedic gods." Deussen, p. 408.

illusion of plurality, knows himself as the sole real, as the substance of all that exists, and is thereby exalted above all desire (kâma); for, "What can he desire who possesses all?" [12] He who knows this (that he is Brahma), has overcome all sin; or, much more, he will not be stained by sinning: like âtman itself, he is exalted beyond good and evil. Salvation is therefore knowledge, the lifting of the veil of ignorance which conceals from the soul the truth that it is, and always has been, one with Brahma.

> By knowledge they climb upwards
> Thither, where desire is at rest;
> Neither sacrificial gift reaches thither,
> Nor the penance of the ignorant.

Then the individual is delivered from the cramped, fettered, and sorrowful earthly life. For him there is no world, no body, no pain, no prescriptions or laws of living. He will not do evil, because the root of all evil is destroyed. He is sure that after death he will not be reborn and continue existence in another form; for knowledge destroys the seed of works and recompense is no longer necessary. With the end of his life upon earth, the perfect and eternal redemption is attained. He is Brahma, and in Brahma he is complete.

While salvation is obtained by immediate intuition, it is none the less thought of as an effect which may be accelerated by appropriate means. It involves two things: (1) the removal of the consciousness of plurality; (2) the removal of all desire,—the necessary consequence and accompaniment of that conscious-

[12] Deussen, p. 409.

ness. To produce these states artificially, two Hindu practices were developed, the *yoga* and the *sannyâsa*.

Yoga by derivation means the binding of the soul to the Highest. At first it was a binding through purely philosophical speculation; but later it became a sort of ascetic exercise and spiritual chastisement by which salvation was to be obtained. It included such things as sitting unmoved, fixing the eye upon the sun to the point of blindness, holding the breath, repeating a mystic word,—the well-known *om*, for example,—until ecstasy was induced and oneness with Brahma was experienced.

The sannyâsa consists in voluntary renunciation, the "casting off from oneself" of home, possessions, family, and everything that stimulates desire, so as to be released from ties of earth, and to live at one with Brahma. The hermits in the forests were of this class, and the Brahman priests were obligated to this form of renunciation.

IV

Buddhism was both a protest against Brahmanism and a reform of it; yet it retained many of its premises and remained genuinely Hindu in its texture. It shared with Brahmanism its pessimistic view of life, resolving the visible and tangible world into a "deception of Maya"; also its doctrine of transmigration and of Karma, *i.e.*, belief in the reincarnation and the perpetuation of deed, the essence of an individual life, though not the consciousness of identity. The character and destiny of a life depend upon the works of a previous existence:

> Our deeds follow us from afar;
> And what we have been makes us what we are.

Buddha refused to speak on metaphysical or intellectual questions,[13] for the reason that they had no redemptive value,[14] yet he shared the views of the universe that were current in India and were expounded in the Brahmanical writings. The background of his doctrine was pantheistical monism, a theory of the world that seems most congenial to the oriental mind. He thought of a universe of colossal and unlimited dimensions, with innumerable worlds receding and vanishing in ever-widening circles, without beginning or end, always in process of becoming and always passing away.

Buddha startles us with his negations in reference to God, the soul, and the universe. He is atheistic, apsychic, and acosmic. He refuses to recognize the existence of God,[15] and of the human soul; though he does not make the negations an article of faith, but assumes rather an attitude of silence. Actual belief in them, however, is considered more than an indifferent remnant of animism: it is a hindrance to the attainment of ideal perfection. For any real advance in ethical living, thinking, or practice begins only when the delusion about the reality of the soul has

[13] "To feed one good man, however, is of infinitely greater merit than attending to questions about heaven and earth, spirits and demons, such as occupy ordinary men."—Beal, "Buddhist Scriptures," pp. 193–194.

[14] "Socrates had put aside inquiries into the making and the working of the world and speculations on being and becoming, as futile in themselves and fruitless to the great end of living."—Moore, "History of Religions," I. p. 499. It is interesting to observe how the great teachers of Greece, India, and China (for Confucius took the same position) despaired of the value of metaphysical speculations.

[15] "Buddhism, like Jainism, has two substitutes for God, one of them this miraculously moral but quite unconscious Cosmos with its inescapable law of Karma; the other the ideal being, Gautama, the Buddha."—Pratt, "The Religious Consciousness," p. 294.

been renounced. Likewise, speculations about God he considered futile, though he would not deny the existence of God. Sacrifices he declared useless, for there are no gods to sacrifice to; and priests are regarded as obsolete, since each man must save himself. He also failed to recognize a world soul,—Brahman or Âtman,—any kind of being, indeed, which exists of itself and through which things exist. Everything is perpetually changing, becoming, passing. Oldenberg, accordingly, finds the difference between Brahmanism and Buddhism to be this: that the Brahmans discern being in all becoming, and that the Buddhists discern in all apparent being a constant becoming. Buddhism knows of no stuff, or soul, as the essence of being or substance. It is, therefore, acosmic as well as atheistic. To escape the dangers of vain speculation, it is forbidden to speak of being or not being. It is heresy to think of the world as finite or infinite, or of the eternal and the non-eternal. The whole of Buddhism is controlled by the spirit of negation, even to the denial of the will to live.

Notwithstanding these negations of the basal elements of the world and of life, there remain "forms" (Sankharas) and "causes" (Dhámmas). The forms are psychological states, passing moods, mental activities which come from impressions upon us and predispose one to good or evil deeds. Each form (Sankhara) is a link in a chain of causes; and is an effect of earlier causes in this or in a previous existence, and also a cause of future deeds. The causation is not physical but ethical, and physical things are determined by moral forces. This law of causation is the central idea of the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration, which Buddha accepted as a heritage from

Brahmanism. It is based upon the unavoidable reality of Samsara,—continued rebirths with a quality of life determined by deeds of the present. The illusory ego, or soul of man, passes into nothingness; but the Karma, the deed, lives on and forms for itself new conditions of consciousness and new physical qualities. If one may speak of a world-stuff in Buddhism, it is Karma, for out of it everything living and moving comes. To deliver man from the grip of Karma and the cycle of rebirths is Buddha's great mission.

While in silent and solitary meditation under the Bo Tree, Gotama was suddenly enlightened, and beheld the way of salvation. "This knowledge and insight have arisen within me." He gave the remaining forty-five years of his life to the spread of his gospel. "For this purpose," he said, "am I going to that city of Benares, to give light to those enshrouded in darkness and to open the gate of immortality to men."

The substance of his message to men was spoken in the discourse at Benares, entitled the "Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness," which may be called Buddha's Sermon on the Mount. In the introduction he warns his followers against two extremes: indulgence in the pleasures of sense on the one hand, and self-mortification on the other. He commends a "Middle Way"—"a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana."

He protested against a wasteful and unethical ritualism, a wearisome and profitless asceticism, and a degrading and undemocratic caste system. For ritual

he preached righteousness; for asceticism or sensualism, temperance,—the Middle Way; for speculations, self-discipline; for caste, brotherhood; for the infallible Vedas, the enlightened reason.

The basal assumptions of his teaching are the four noble truths about suffering.

The first truth declares life itself painful, because in all its forms and stages it is impermanent and evanescent. Birth and old age, disease and death, are painful. "Any craving that is unsatisfied is painful." Gotama laments not only calamity in life, but life itself as a calamity. This is radical and universal pessimism.

The second truth declares the cause or origin of suffering to be the "craving thirst" for life and the renewal of life; that is to say, "the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for success in this present life (the lust of the flesh, the lust of life, or the pride of life). Through men's longing for existence they prolong existence and beget Karma, which is the cause of continued rebirth.

The Buddhist says:

> No! It is not separateness you should hope and long for; it is union—the sense of oneness with all that now is, that has ever been, that ever can be—the sense that shall enlarge the horizon of your being to the limits of the universe, that shall lift you up into a new plane far beyond, outside, all mean and miserable care for self. Give up the fool's paradise of "This is I" and "This is mine." This is the greatest reality that you are asked to grasp. Leap forward without fear! You shall find yourself in the ambrosial waters of Nirvana, and shall sport with the arahats who have conquered death.[16]

[16] Rhys-Davids, "Buddhism," p. 129.

The third truth declares the destruction of suffering, which requires the annihilation of craving, of thirst, of desire, and ends in the state of Nirvana. Whether or not this involves cessation of existence or of life, is a disputed question. Gotama never answered it. He avoids saying that Nirvana is being or not being, and Buddhistic theology has pronounced it heresy either to say that it is annihilation or that it is not annihilation. It is defined only negatively, as not life; also as not death, not desire, not consciousness,—only the condition that is free from rebirth. Later Buddhism could not maintain this absolute indefiniteness of the conception of Nirvana, but thought of it as blessedness consisting of spirituality and freedom.

The fourth truth declares "the way which leads to the destruction of suffering." It is the way of the noble Eightfold Path, which consists of

Right Views (free from superstition and delusion);
Right Aspirations (high, and worthy of the intelligent, earnest man);
Right Speech (kindly, open, truthful);
Right Conduct (peaceful, honest, pure);
Right Livelihood (bringing hurt or danger to no living thing);
Right Effort (in self-training and in self-control);
Right Mindfulness (the active, watchful mind);
Right Rapture (in deep meditation on the realities of life).

Those who have entered upon the Noble Eightfold Path are on the way to Arahatship and Nirvana. While on the Path, they must break the Ten Fetters: (1) delusion of self (the reality of self-existence); (2) doubt, *e.g.*, in the teacher, the way, the order, Karma, etc.; (3) trust in efficacy of good works and

ceremonies; (4) Kama (not Karma), or sensuality; (5) ill-will; (6) love of life on earth, or, literally, in the world of forms; (7) desire for a future life in heaven; literally, in the formless worlds; (8) pride; (9) self-righteousness; (10) ignorance.

To have acquired, as an habitual frame of mind, the eight positive characteristics of the Eightfold Path, and to have got rid of the Fetters, is to have attained to Arahatship, the Buddhist ideal of life or highest good. It is described by various terms, as Emancipation, Island of Refuge, End of Craving, State of Purity, the Supreme, the Transcendent, the Uncreate, the Tranquil, the Going Out.

The most familiar epithet to define this state is Nirvana, which means, primarily, "the going out" of the flame of a lamp; secondarily, "the going out," in the heart, of the three fires of lust, ill-will, dullness, and of the "grasping" which leads to another individual life in the future. In the words of a Buddhist poem:

> That state of peace I saw wherein the roots
> Of ever fresh re-birth are all destroyed, and greed
> And hatred and delusion all have ceased,—
> That state from lust for future life set free,
> That changeth not, can ne'er be led to change.
> My mind saw that! what care I for those rites? [17]

The blissful state of Arahatship is described in the following words:

> Let us live happily, then, free from hatred among the hating; let us live happily, then, free from ailments among the ailing! Among men sick at heart, let us dwell free from repining! Let us live happily, then, free from care among

[17] Maha Vagga, i. 22, 4, P.

the care-worn! Among men devoured from eagerness, let us be free from excitement!

Let us live happily, then, we who have no hindrances! We shall be like the bright gods who feed upon happiness.[18]

Fausböll, in his "Introduction to Sutta-Nipâta," says:

A Buddha is a monk who has forsaken the world, has become homeless because from domestic life comes impurity. He has no views of his own, has laid all philosophical ideas aside, and never disputes. He feels neither joy nor sorrow on account of anything, and has no possessions. He has cast from him all passion and all desire, and clings neither to the good nor to the evil. He is at rest; under all circumstances the same, silent like deep waters; and has found peace, undying peace—the unchangeable state of Nirvana.

Buddhism offers salvation, not from sin or hell, but from sorrow and suffering; yea, from life itself, which is essentially evil. Man is delivered from the cycle of rebirths, the effect of Karma, by sinking quiescent into an undefined something or nothing—Nirvana.

Salvation is brought about by illumination, such as Gotama had under the Bo Tree. It is an insight which enables a man to know what always *is*, but, through ignorance and delusion, *is not discerned*. Without the help of God or of men salvation is attained,—attained by self-control and self-culture;—a blend of emotional, moral, and intellectual elements. The relation of these three is defined in the oldest Suttas, as follows:

Great is the fruit, great the advantage of the rapture of contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with the rapture of contemplation. The mind set round

[18] Dhamma Pada vv. 197–204; Rhys-Davids, p. 171.

with intelligence is set free from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from future life.

There is, undeniably, in Buddhism a powerful ethical challenge which leaves no room for sacerdotalism, caste, or mechanical devices for deliverance. In this respect it is an advance beyond the earlier stages of religion, even beyond Brahmanism, but at the cost of belief in God, the human soul, and immortality. Indeed, Buddhism recognizes none of the elements which Max Müller ascribes to religion when he says:

> The broad foundations on which all religions are built up are belief in a divine power, the acknowledgment of sin, the habit of prayer, the desire to offer sacrifice, and the hope of a future life.[19]

Yet Buddhism has religious and moral value for the making of character. Mr. Paul Hutchinson, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the "Future of Religion in China," says:

> It is impossible to deny the validity of the spiritual experiences which have come to the Buddhist saints. Even to-day the sympathetic searcher will find in the monasteries a few sweet and simple spirits, the purity of whose lives and the ardor of whose religious passion might well be copied by many Christians.

Buddhism exposes the nothingness and barrenness of the sensuous and the selfish purposes of the natural life, whether of the narrower personal, or the wider national, egoism. One must stand in awe of the reiterated demands for the suppression of self-will, self-assertion, and self-pleasing. "A man who foolishly does me wrong," said Buddha, "I will return to

[19] "Science of Religion" (1873), p. 287.

him the protection of my ungrudging love; the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me." [20]

Furthermore, Buddhism is unlimited by race, nationality, caste, ritual, or locality. Its way of salvation and its ethical principles are universal in their scope and reach.

> If grounded in virtue and careful in attention, whether in the land of the Skythians or the Greeks, whether in China or in Tartary, whether in Alexandria or Nikumba, whether in Benares or in Kosala, whether in Kashmir or in Gandhāra, whether on a mountain or in the highest heavens,—wheresoever he may be, the man who orders his life aright will realize Nirvana.[21]

Buddhism, however, ends with a pessimistic negation of the world and of life. It sees clearly that "the world passeth away and the lust thereof," but it is blind to the greater truth that he that "doeth the will of God abideth forever." Even the high moral demands are only a means to an end—self-extinction, the losing of life without the finding of it. The aim of Buddhism is to escape suffering; not, to be delivered from sin. The ultimate end of life is not coöperation with God for the advancement of human welfare, but coalescence with God for the attainment of personal peace and rest. Buddha cried unto his disciples: "Open your ears! deliverance from death is found." Jesus said: "Repent, the Kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The motive of the whole system is a refined selfishness, excluding all considerations of conformity to a higher than human will, or of responsibility for other

[20] Dods, "Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ," p. 172.
[21] "Questions of King Milinda," Pt. II. pp. 203–204.

than self. The only suggestion of altruism is found in the idea that, by the extinction of a separate individual existence, the sum of human misery is correspondingly decreased, and by the cessation of Karma no new existence is begotten in another form.

In its final and highest form, Buddhism has no social ideal for the realization of which life is to be given. It despises work, woman, and wealth, which are essential elements of a high order of civilization. Since the celibate has more virtue and less sorrow than the married man, marriage itself is discouraged. In lands where Buddhism is most felt, one-third of the population are said to be monks.

The decisive factor is the character of the ultimate being that is the source of man's life. Is it an impenetrable mystery, full of woe and sorrow; or is he a will of saving power, a divine person, a God of holy love? If that being is impersonal, and if personality is an error and an evil to be overcome, then Buddhism offers the ideal way of salvation; for it proposes the submergence of finite being into the infinite being, deliverance from separate existence by absolute quiescence of the will.

If personality is the end of life, its consummate form, then Christianity offers the final and only satisfactory way of salvation. It develops personality, and finds the highest good in fellowship with a personal God and in the mutual coöperation of God and man for the realization of the spiritual and ethical ends of his Kingdom.

V

The traditional religion of Greece was rooted in the writings of Homer and Hesiod, and was developed and

purified by the historian Herodotus and by the poets, Pindar, Æschylus, and Sophocles. Its gods—chief among whom were Zeus, Poseidon, Athene, and Apollo—dwelt upon Mount Olympus; on which account it is known as the Olympic religion. It was a religion of amelioration: concerned with this world alone, and especially with the welfare of the state, of which the gods were guardians and patrons. Through their bounty the individual also was the recipient of temporal blessings—health and beauty, prosperity and long life, and all good things upon the earth. The early Greek wished for nothing more. Beyond this life there was little to attract him. Achilles cried: "I had rather be attached to the soil as the serf of a landless man with a scanty living than be king over all the wasted dead"; for in the Homeric Hades were "Cocytus and Styx, ghosts under the earth and sapless shades."

In worship there was nothing distinctive. Professor Moore says:

> Sacrifice and offering, hymn and prayer, expiation and purification, propitiation of the kindly gods and thanksgiving for their bounty, placation of the dreaded powers of the nether world, riddance of demons and ghosts,—these are the components of the cultus, as among other peoples on the same plane of civilization all over the world.[22]

The Olympic ideal of life was carved upon the temple of Apollo at Delphi: "Nothing to excess" (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*) and "Know thyself" (*γνῶθι σαυτόν*). The supreme sin was arrogance or insolence (*ὕβρις*), man's presumption to exceed the bounds set for him by the gods and to transgress, or to strive to become

[22] "History of Religions," I. p. 469.

godlike. The gods in jealous wrath inflicted sore punishment upon haughty transgressors. Only as men remain within bounds, will they find favor and peace. Thus circumscribed, they are to cultivate a free disposition, and develop a life of harmony, beauty, and strength. The cardinal virtue is σωφροσύνη —temperance, self-control, poise. "That a man keep himself with voluntary self-restraint within the narrow confines which limit his ability to do and to know, is the supreme demand of Greek piety." [23]

VI

A new conception of religion and of salvation was brought into Greece through the introduction of the Orphic cult. While the time and the way of its entrance into Greece are obscure, its presence in Athens in the sixth century before Christ is certain. It wielded formative influence upon the Eleusinian and other mysteries, and continued to dominate them from before the time of Herodotus (490–425) until the suppression of secret rites by the Christian emperors. Aristophanes proclaimed Orpheus as the apostolic founder of all mysteries.[24]

Orphism was an attempt both to awaken and to satisfy man's yearning for fellowship with God and for eternal life. Its rise marks a new era of individualism in religion; for its concern was with the personal soul and its destiny, not with the state and its welfare. "Contact with the Oriental spirit brought to many [Greeks] a stronger intensity of religious life; religion is no longer preoccupied with the physical and political

[23] Rohdy, "Psyche."
[24] "Frogs," 1032.

world; its horizon lies beyond the grave, and its force is 'otherworldliness.' Men flock to the mysteries seeking communion with the divinity by sacrament, and sustaining their faith by mystic dogmas." [25] Orphism demanded personal faith, personal initiation, and, through sacraments and rites, personal partaking in the divine nature. Ignoring the warning of the Olympic religion against seeking to become like the gods, it made "deification" the chief good. Its interests were not in worldly goods, but in supernal blessings. The future life was considered the only true life, and amounted to absorption in God.

The Orphics united in circles or brotherhoods, not unlike the early Christian congregations. They were ardent missionaries. "The preachers of the Orphic doctrines in the seventh century," says Farnell, "are the first propagandists or missionaries we can discover in the pre-Christian Mediterranean world." [26]

The Orphic way of salvation was based upon a theory of man's nature unfamiliar to native Greek mythology and religion. Man presumably is composed of Titanic and Dionysiac elements, body and soul, the carnal and the divine. For the first time in Greek thought, the soul is conceived to be distinct from the body, divine in essence, and imprisoned in the body—*σῶμα-σῆμα*, body-prison. [27]

[25] Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," vi; Farnell, "Greek Religion," p. 424.

[26] "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Greek Religion," p. 408.

[27] The doctrine of the imprisonment and the divinity of the soul was taught in the fifth century by Empedocles of Agrigentum. He wandered through Sicily as miracle-worker and soothsayer. He claimed to be "an immortal God, no longer a mortal man. Here on earth he felt himself an exile in a bad land seeking the joy and blessedness of the gods."—Tiele, "Kompendium," 4. Aufl. p. 432.

"The conception of an immaterial soul and the corresponding con-

The problem of salvation is to purge the soul of its carnal stains, to free it from the shackles of the body, so that at death it will return to God, to the spirit of which it is a part. The blessed hope is not, as in the Homeric Elysium, upon earth, but on high in the realm of deity. The soul, however, cannot at once or by its own effort obtain release. Death alone dissolves the union and liberates it from the body; and then only for a short time. For the soul assumes a new body, human or animal, and continues its wanderings through the long "circle of necessity." Hopeless the "wheel of births" turns round.

Yet, there is hope of deliverance: but man, blind and thoughtless, cannot find it; yea, can hardly turn to salvation when it is at hand. The grace of the "redeeming gods" (Θεοὶ λύσιοι) will save men from the round of births (Κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως) and from endless suffering. Dionysus will deliver those who revere him from misery and endless suffering. The self-reliance of the ancient Hellene is gone. In place of it has come dependence upon revelations, mediations, prescriptions, lustrations, through which men are redeemed.

The primary condition of the Orphic life is asceticism and purification. The devotees are met on every side by prohibitions and admonitions—"Thou shalt not" and "Thou shalt." They are required to abstain from meat, certain fish, eggs, beans, and from contact with death or birth. A follower of Bacchus sings in Euripides:

ception of an immaterial God have their origin in Plato. He is also the first to undertake to prove the immortality of the soul, as we understand those words, in distinction from the survival of a ghostly double or shade." Moore, "History of Religions," I. pp. 501–502.

I am free and am called by the priest in Ornat a Bacchant;
Clothed in white garments I flee from the birth of the mortal
and touch no coffin;
I have refused all nourishment that has life in it.[28]

There are also ceremonial prescriptions for baths, lustrations, and consecrations for purging the soul of all impurities contracted from the body or by contact with evil and death. The Orphics call themselves "the pure," but their purity is of the ceremonial kind. There is also positive participation in the life of a god through drinking of the blood and eating of the raw flesh of a sacred animal in whom the spirit of the deity resides.[29] There is no demand for moral discipline [30] and transformation, or for civic virtues. Since the sole aim is to be freed from the body and from the material world, and to return to God, there is no moral purpose, no reason for a moral life. Conduct is not considered as influencing the destiny of the initiate, or even as conciliating the divinity invoked. Even purity is not an end in itself, but only a means of reaching union with God. Diogenes sarcastically asked: "Will the robber Pataikon, because he was initiated, fare better after death than Epaminondas?" The sum of morals

[28] The adept is "set free and named a Bacchus of the mailed priests robed in pure white, clean from man's birth and coffined clay (i.e., from the pollutions of birth and death), while from his lips is ever banished touch of meat where life hath been." Quoted from Euripides by Porphyry, "De Abstinentia," IV. 19.

[29] The mænads threw themselves upon the sacrificial animal, tore pieces from its trembling body and devoured them with the blood,—the primitive form of the later spiritual eating and drinking in the mysteries of Orpheus, Eleusis, or Mithra. Whether later ethical demands were made upon the initiated is questionable. See Rohdy, I. p. 294 *sq.*

[30] Legge, "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity," I. p. 146. For more favorable estimate of the moral value of the mysteries, see Case, "The Evolution of Early Chrisianity," p. 290 *sq.*; also "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," VI. p. 408.

is turning to God; turning away, not from moral errors in our earthly life, but from the earthly existence itself. "Whether the Orphics originally demanded from their followers any moral as well as material purification cannot now be said; but the proceedings of the Orpheotelestæ show us how very early in their teaching all such ideas were dropped, and the magical theory of the efficacy of the mysteries as a means of salvation came to outweigh everything else in the eyes of the votaries."

After death the "initiates" enter an intermediate state. In Hades justice is dispensed. Those who were not purified by Orphic orgies are condemned to be in the pool of misery. In the words of Plato, "he who arrives in Hades uninitiated and without having participated in the mysteries, he is in filth." [31] The consecrated and purified will dwell in happy fellowship with the gods of the deep. There is the "feast of the pure," and there they enjoy uninterrupted intoxication. The fate of man in the future depends upon initiation into the mystery here; the initiated receive the rewards of holiness and righteousness, the uninitiated are punished as the unholy and unrighteous.

The sanctified soul does not remain in Hades or continue in endless transmigrations. He is freed from rebirths and from repeated deaths; rises above the earth, perchance to the moon, the stars, or to other far-off worlds. There he becomes divine and lives with gods. According to one of the earliest conceptions, harking back to the religion of nature, "he has sunk back into the lap of the Mother-goddess." This is attained through the disclosure of the hidden constitution and purpose of nature by participation in

[31] Moore, I. p. 448.

secret rites, and through the possession of mysterious names and formulas which have magical power. Thus men are released from this body of death and the circle of rebirths, and transformed into companions of the gods. "God thou becomest; no longer mortal."

VII

Another way of salvation was proposed by Plato,—the way of self-conquest of the will guided by reason. Unlike the mysteries, which were imported, the way of philosophy was a native Greek product.

> The mystical and "enthusiastic" explanation of the world was never without its apostles in Greece, though the main current of speculation, as directed by Athens, set steadily contrariwise, in the line of getting bit by bit at the meaning of things through hard thinking.[32]

Plato discerned an ideal world, different in principle from the social and political order of Athens. The conduct of "the many"—who, devoid of sincerity and truth, are impelled by carnal desires and swayed by caprice—excited his wrath. For him the external world, with its rules and regulations, had lost all validity. In the light of his vision of the eternally true and good,—which are based not upon wavering opinion, but upon immutable ideas inherent in the nature of things,—he projected his ideal man and his ideal state, *i.e.*, men and society as they ought to be, not as they are. They must conform to truth and goodness; which cannot be seen, save with the eye of the spirit. Man's reason is aided by heavenly love, a kind of divine madness which uplifts him into the

[32] Gilbert Murray, "The Literature of Ancient Greece," p. 68.

luminous realm of ideas, to the true, the beautiful, and the good. In his "Phædrus," Plato says: "There is a madness which is the special gift of heaven, and the source of the chiefest blessing among men. For prophecy is a madness, and the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses of Dodona when out of their senses have conferred great benefits on Hellas, but when in their senses few or none." [33] True and noble existence belongs to this world of ideas alone. The material and sensuous world is only an imperfect shadow of the true world. This is the controlling idea of his philosophy and religion. Chagrined and disheartened by the indifference and opposition of the multitude, and by the futility and worthlessness of public life, he dwelt apart and sought to live in the world of truth and justice.

Man springs from the supersensible world, but he has fallen into the material world; whether of his own guilt or of necessity, is in dispute. While upon the earth, he is held as a prisoner in the body, half-dreaming, half-waking; and sees with blurred vision the shadowy figures hovering around him,—men as trees walking. He is in the bondage of ignorance and lust; not of moral evil, but of the material world. He is composed of body and soul; the soul has a rational and a carnal side, and in its better moments yearns for the enjoyment of eternal values. "Plato looks upon life as a struggle of reason with lust, a struggle in which the nobler impulses of the heart are on the side of reason." [34] Yet one may be dragged down by desires and appetites; reason may be dethroned, and a life of injustice (*ἀδικία*), discord, and misery follow. The evil

[33] "Phædrus," 244 (Jowett's trans.).
[34] Paulsen, "A System of Ethics," Eng. trans., p. 47.

life continues after death, by transmigration into corresponding bodily forms, at each stage more and more degraded.

The soul controlled by reason subdues the appetites of the lower nature, and conforms its life to truth and goodness. The just man is one who realizes the ideal, his divine vocation and destiny. Even in this life a good man becomes relatively free; and after death the spirit, freed from error, fear, passion, and other human ills, will mount upwards and dwell in the abode of light. The primary object of man's quest is virtue, which is obtained through knowledge: "all the gold above and beneath the earth does not outweigh virtue." The life of the wise man is a constant flight from the sphere of the sensuous; and is, therefore, a preparation for death, through which the soul reaches its true life. This deliverance from the present order and union with the spiritual world beyond is to be striven for in all possible ways:—theoretically, through the abstraction of thinking; practically, through the desensualizing of the will; and mystically, through ecstasy of feeling.[35] Philosophy is, accordingly, the highest function of life. With its aid men raise themselves by thought and struggle out of the limits of the senses into the eternal world of spirit.

In his "Republic" Plato describes the ideal state, which saves him from coming wholly under the ascetic principle that inheres in his ideal of the personal life.[36] The social order itself may be brought under

[35] Pfleiderer, "Philosophy and Development of Religion," Eng. trans., I. p. 240.

[36] There were in reality two conceptions of life in Plato. As a reformer, he faced life and its institutions with the purpose of transforming them; as a mystic and pessimist, he turned from the material order to asceticism and philosophic speculation (θεωρία), attended with ecstasy.

the control of the true and the good. The state is to be ruled by the wise man, the philosopher. Kings must be philosophers, and philosophers must be kings. The political life must be delivered from the arbitrary opinions and the caprice of the people, and be based upon permanent principles demonstrable by reason. All the elements of the state must be coördinated and controlled by wisdom, which alone will develop harmony and symmetry,—the essence of personal and political virtue. The same fundamental traits that appear in the life of a just man, appear also in the just state, which is a man on a large scale.

This is humanism in a highly refined form. It is the redemption from an irrational order of life to a rational; from the empirical to the ideal; from the temporal to the eternal. The power of salvation resides in the intellect, which directs the will. To live normally is to live in harmony with the transcendent reason and to be in the way of redemption. Any real union of religion and morality is lacking. The essential thing which religion offers is independent of good and evil. In substance Plato agrees with the Stoics and the Greek philosophers generally, who teach that man is to win the victory without a spiritual helper through the power of his own spirit, which will uphold the wise man in conflict with the sensuous and sinful world about him. The Stoic taught that it is divine to be sufficient unto oneself and to be moved by no affection, not even by love.[37]

The various methods of redemption used by the Greeks failed. Neither Zeus, Orpheus, nor Plato; neither sacrifice, asceticism, nor philosophy, could put at rest the ever-deepening sense of sin voiced by

[37] Seneca, Epp., 41.

Seneca,—*peccavimus omnes,* "we all have sinned." The divine imperative, "thou shalt," was answered with the human confession, "I can't";—the last result of a thousand years of Greek religion and ethics. Hellenic piety seems to have reached the point at which Brahmanism was when Buddha came. Redemption came to the Greeks only through Christ.

Retracing our steps from animism to Platonism, we find the outcome of the religious life and thought of the nations to have been: (1) that the present natural life is unsatisfactory; (2) that mere amelioration of the present order is inadequate; (3) that there is a transcendent order—an eternal above the temporal, an ideal above the real, a future ahead of the present; (4) that the lower must, in one form or another, be relinquished to reach the higher; (5) that redemption of some kind is necessary; (6) that efforts at redemption have been made by personal struggle, by divine act, or by coöperation of God and man; (7) that redemption is thought of now as national, and then as individual; (8) that men at a certain stage arrive at the idea of a Savior God; (9) that men think of salvation as deliverance of the group, or of the individual apart from the group. These ideas were widely prevalent when Jesus came.

II

CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

II

CHRISTIAN WAYS OF SALVATION

CHAPTER III

THE WAY OF JESUS

"Salvation is from the Jews." These words to the Samaritan woman define both the highest hope of Israel and the deepest meaning of its history. Paul said substantially the same thing when he wrote to the Romans about the "Israelites, whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever" (Romans 9:4, 5).

Jesus himself felt that he was heir to the noblest religious traditions of his people. He came to fulfil, not to destroy, the law or the prophets (Matthew 5:17). He did not profess to reveal a new God, but acknowledged the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (Matthew 22:32; Mark 12:26). He nurtured his soul on the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and frequently appealed to them in his preaching and teaching (Mark 12:26). "These are they which bear witness of me" (John 5:39). He recognized the historical continuity between him and those who preceded him: "Others have labored, and ye are entered into their labor" (John 4:38). Neither he nor his followers thought of founding a new re-

ligion, nor of forsaking the way of salvation pursued by patriot and martyr, saint and seer, of Israel's lineage. They would have turned with horror from the idea of breaking with the past, for they believed themselves to be its heirs and its fruit. Yet none was satisfied with present attainments, and all had their faces set toward the future.

While Jesus was in conscious harmony with the law and the prophets, he none the less felt himself superior to them. He that fulfills is greater than that which is fulfilled. The things which prophets and kings desired to see and hear, but saw and heard not, he made manifest (Luke 10:24). He felt that he was beginning a new era in the religious history of the race. In the synagogue at Nazareth he boldly, yet not presumptuously, cried: "To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears" (Luke 4:21). He never pointed men to one to come after him, but invited them to come unto him and find rest (Matthew 11:28).

The salvation which Jesus proclaimed was deeply rooted in more than a thousand years of his nation's history. First the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear. A long historical process came to fruition in Jesus. Through his Church the best results of this process have become the permanent possession of the race and are to-day a potent influence in the world's life. To understand his mission and message, we must approach him in the light of the origin and development of the salvation which came from the Jews and which he himself proclaimed in its complete and final form.

I

The beginning of salvation was an act of Jehovah in behalf of a group of tribes that came from Egypt

by way of Arabia into Palestine. They were united by the common conviction that they owed their deliverance from slavery and their entrance into Canaan to the power and the goodness of Jehovah. This experience of redemption became the basis of their national life. The controlling motive of their future history, with all its victories and defeats, was the redemptive purpose of God. They experienced salvation long before they defined it. For only gradually, through the discipline of life, did Israel learn to understand the character and aim of their God. Centuries elapsed before the historian was able to describe, with prophetic insight and in religious terms, their deliverance from bondage, and the birth of their nation, in words like these: "And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians. . . . Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt" (Exodus 3:7–10). So great a salvation could be celebrated only in song, the song of Moses: "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation" (Exodus 15:1, 2).

In its inception the salvation of Israel was social and political in character: the individual was saved as a part of the nation. Jehovah preserved the integrity and independence of his people, gave them victory in war, blessed them with peace and plenty. In the words of Samuel, Jehovah "himself saved you out of your adversities and tribulations" (I Samuel 10:19).

The new relation between him and his people was expressed in terms of a covenant. Jehovah pledged fidelity to the people, and the people pledged loyalty to God. He, accordingly, continues to save Israel in its troubles, needs, and disasters, and seeks to bend Israel to his purposes. Israel, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of national life, continually reverts to the covenant and cleaves to the faithfulness of Jehovah. He will not leave nor forsake his people, for they are the objects of his love. Israel, through the discipline of life under the guiding hand of God, gradually gains insight into his character and understands his aims.

The crisis in the religious development of the nation was to be the question of its ability or inability to advance to an ethical conception of God and salvation. If Jehovah is regarded as merely protecting his people against enemies and providing prosperity and peace and all good things of the temporal life, then he is no more to Israel than Chemosh to Moab, and the nation in its religious ideals will remain on a level with Assyria and Egypt.

History tells us that, after the vast majority failed in moral discernment, Israel gradually approached its doom. There was a remnant, however, the true Israel, who, under the leadership of the prophets, were obedient to the ethical vision of God and his salvation. They proclaimed righteousness, obedience to the divine will, as the condition of God's favor and the mark of his presence and of national welfare. "Behold to obey is better than sacrifice" (I Samuel 15:22; also Amos, 7:10–13; Hosea 14: 1–3; Isaiah 7 and 8). Even though disaster threatened the nation, the prophets warned the people and their rulers against a false reliance on material resources, political diplomacy, and

ritualistic performances. They preached obedience to God, social justice, and personal purity, as the only hope of the nation. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6:8).

No wonder the kings and priests rose up in indignation against the prophets. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, sent to Jeroboam, king of Israel, saying, "Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words" (Amos 7:10). Amos and the prophets who proclaimed Israel's salvation upon ethical conditions went directly contrary to the political ambitions and programs of kings and their counselors. Consequently they were denounced as traitors, as both unpatriotic and impious. This tension between an ever-growing and degenerating secular majority and a hard-pressed but resolute spiritual minority continued until the exile. Then the political fabric was shattered and ruined, and the political history of Israel closed. Though the state perished, the remnant, the suffering servants, the people of Jehovah, survived; not, however, without sharing the sorrows of those whose ignorance and disobedience made judgment inevitable. Their fate is immortalized in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities" (verse 5). Their ultimate triumph was assured: "He shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied" (verse 11).

In the literature of the national period of Israel the world has a rich heritage. We have the picture of a nation of which God is head and indwelling life; of righteousness in its social applications and connected

vitally with the divine presence. Davidson, in his article on Prophecy,[1] says:

> Yahweh chose a nation because his idea of mankind, of which he will be God, is that of a social organism. It is this organism of which He is God. But though the relation might seem to be with the ideal unity, it operated in disposing all the parts, making up the unity, rightly to one another. And in this way each individual felt Yahweh to be his God.

This conception of a religious nation and of social salvation is the contribution of pre-exilic Israel to the spiritual progress of the race. Israel failed to realize it; but the ideal will live on, and will claim recognition in any future conception of salvation that is to be satisfactory and complete.

The fall and captivity of Israel were not without compensation. The state was gone, but with it also passed away the political conception of salvation, with its false trust in horses and chariots, diplomacy and alliances, wealth and splendor. God remained and watched over his own, even in exile; and to have him was life and salvation. But even now there was a sifting of wheat from chaff, of the true Israel from the false; for many turned from Jehovah and went after strange gods in a foreign land.

The remnant of the faithful were chastened and matured. They experienced salvation in a new form. Jehovah wrote his law upon their hearts, entered into a new covenant with them, and tabernacled among them. He dealt now with the individual, not as a part of Israel, but as a human being, according to his needs and possibilities. He holds each one personally responsible for his deeds. "Every one shall die for

[1] Hastings, "Bible Dictionary," IV. 120.

his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge" (Jeremiah 31:30; also Ezekiel 3:16–21; 18:1–32; 23:10–20). Out of faithful individuals he created a holy community, freed from idolatry and owning Jehovah alone as Savior and Lord. They are called the servant [2] of Jehovah, and their task is to rebuild Jerusalem and to teach all nations the knowledge and service of the true God.[3] Through their sufferings, patiently endured, Jehovah's name will be exalted and his character vindicated. He will "give unto them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness" (Isaiah 61:3). They are finding salvation that endures through the dissolution of all the forms of life which once seemed indispensable to their well-being. It rests upon man's obedience to the holy will of Jehovah and unwavering confidence in his power and faithfulness.

"This individual salvation of the exile is the complement of the social salvation of the pre-exilic period. Israel has made the experiment for humanity. A social salvation that is not rooted in a personal covenant with God is imperfect and insecure." [4] In the words of Goodspeed: [5]

> The outcome of the era of divine grace was for the exilic seers the holy community in its various aspects. But now, out of the community, at its head, raised up and glorified by Jehovah, appears the holy individual. His characteristic marks are humility, righteousness, and service; by which he leads his people on to their supreme achievement.

[2] Isaiah 41:8; 44:1; 49:3.
[3] Isaiah 42:1–7; 49:5, 6; 49:1.
[4] T. B. Kilpatrick, Art. "Salvation," Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 114.
[5] "Israel's Messianic Hope," p. 230.

The promise of the exile of a deeper, richer, more inward and spiritual life was not fully realized in the centuries which followed. In place of the pre-exilic state came the post-exilic church, an ecclesiastical, instead of a political, fabric. The one was no more congenial than the other to the development of the higher religious life. Ceremonialism and legalism checked the freedom of the spirit. Priest and scribe dominated the mind and heart of the people. The law tended to become a burden that oppressed, rather than an inspiration that uplifted. Salvation was sought by punctilious observance of precepts, instead of by faith. Withal, the sense of God's nearness and accessibility died away. He was exalted so far above men that man's essential kinship with him was lost sight of, and the capacity of human nature for divine fellowship was ignored. This conception of God and salvation was the root of bigotry and intolerance. The bearers of it become not saviors, but tyrants, of men.

Yet, again, there was a remnant in Judaism who were the heirs of the prophetic ideal. They were not satisfied with ritual and law, for these failed to meet the deepest longings of the heart. They were the true Israel, the servant of the Lord, and out of the heart of their experience arose the final redemption of man. The devotional literature of this period bears witness to the depth and intensity of their religious life, and to this day is spiritual food for men. Deeply conscious of the needs of the soul, for which the current legalism and pharisaism were inadequate, they looked forward, and waited for the consolation of Israel.

Surveying Israel's history as a whole, we find, in the beginning, Hebrew tribes breaking into Palestine

in the power of a recent deliverance; and, at the end, a remnant of disciplined souls who poured forth in the Psalms their confessions and aspirations, having made the discovery that, in the stress of life, the human spirit cannot stay itself upon any form political, ritual, or intellectual, but only upon God, obeyed and trusted to the last limit of a surrendered will.[6]

In the two centuries before the coming of Christ the apocalytic literature was developed to a high degree. It was closely related to the political and social conditions of the period. The age was one of decay. Ancient civilizations, Semitic and Hellenic, were worn out. The evil, shameless, and violent traits of human nature were let loose. The political power of oriental empires was exhausted, and Rome moved with gigantic strides toward the East, conquering and to conquer. "Out of such a welter of blood, hypocrisy, and selfishness came the apocalypses," says Goodspeed, "with their lurid pictures, their confused programs, their mixture of natural and spiritual elements, their fire, sword, earthquakes, ecstasies, and judgments." [7] They embody in figure and symbol the hopes and aspirations of the saints, and set forth the prevailing ideas of God's control of human history, the religious significance of the past, the certainties of the future, the final consummation, the ultimate triumph of righteousness. Coming events are outlined in divine plans with set times and seasons. The form varies, but the content generally had this sequence of topics: The oppression of God's people; the divine appearance; the messianic reign; the resurrection; the final judgment.

[6] Kilpatrick, Art. "Salvation," Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics."

[7] "Israel's Messianic Hope," p. 266.

Much was purely artificial and mechanical, and has misled many devout men and women ever since into all sorts of millenarian, pre-millenarian, and post-millenarian vagaries. Professor E. C. Hayes says: "The substitution of the mystic doctrine of the 'second coming' for the practical purpose for which the founder of Christianity lived and died is the most pathetic of all perversions of a noble teaching." [8] Yet it served to inspire many with faith in God, with the courage to persevere under insuperable obstacles, and with the patience of hope looking for the salvation of Jehovah. To this group belonged Zacharias, Elizabeth, Joseph and Mary, the shepherds of Bethlehem, Simeon and Anna, who fixed their hearts upon God, and were not misled by futile political programs or "intoxicated by mythical imaginings." [9]

Apocalypticism was a type of prophecy and had a twofold source. The faithful Jew was convinced through the long and stern discipline of his nation that salvation is not simply for the individual, but includes the community. The one must go with the other. The whole sphere of human life, even the cosmic order, must be controlled by the sovereign will of Jehovah. Otherwise salvation is incomplete. Again, this transformation cannot be effected by men or by human enterprise, however resolute and devout men may be. God alone has the power to accomplish this salva-

[8] "Sociology and Ethics," p. 1.

[9] Wernle reminds us that "there was no lack of mercenary souls and worldlings, who, leaving the future to take care of itself, devoted themselves to deriving what profit and pleasure they could from the passing moment. Jesus comes into contact at every step with this materialistic spirit, that knows not the signs of the times. But then besides these there are countless others, expectant, anxious and exultant souls, eagerly longing for the future."—"Beginnings of Christianity," I. pp. 34, 35. English translation.

tion, and men therefore cling to him in faith and hope in the most hopeless situations of life.

At the same time the faithful recognized the utter incapacity of the human mind to put in terms of time and space that which in essence was above both. Accordingly, in order to manifest and to inspire confidence in the omnipotence and the faithfulness of God, they employed imagery and symbolism.

After this rapid review of the stages in Israel's history from Pharaoh to Herod, we may ask, What was Israel's mission among the nations? Its glory was not imperial, martial, economic, or scholastic, but religious and ethical. The faithful learned to know God as no other nation before them. Their God was holy and righteous, long-suffering and full of compassion. He had a purpose to save both the individual and the nation. His will was to control life in all its relations. Jehovah was Redeemer, Savior, Father of his people. He wrought in them the sense of divine vocation to serve not only their kinsmen, but all nations. Israel was, in a specific sense, his "Servant"; and, when he was despised and rejected of men, he was wounded for their transgressions and bruised for their iniquities. His stripes were for the healing of transgressors. The prophets discerned with increasing clearness, and proclaimed in words that have touched the hearts of countless multitudes through all ages, that such sorrow has atoning value. It affects not only man but God. "In all their affliction he was afflicted" (Isaiah 63:9). The religion of Israel proclaims the ideal of redemptive suffering, which finds its final expression on Calvary.[10]

[10] "Without the combination of the two elements which lay side by side within it [the religion of Israel], viz.:—messianic sovereignty and vicarious suffering, the religion of Israel could not have survived. In point of fact, it has not survived apart from this com-

In Israel, more than in any other nation, the sense of sin was developed,—sin not merely as a breach of law, an offense against the state, not as ignorance, but as an act of ingratitude and disloyalty toward God. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned" (Psalm 51:4). With the sense of sin came the hope of a redemption proceeding from God alone. "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness." "There is forgiveness with thee." The sensitized conscience was not satisfied with baptisms, asceticism, ecstasy. Men looked for a spiritual and moral renewal to be effected by God in the coming age. The psalmist cried: "Create in me a clean heart, O God" (51:10). The prophet Ezekiel promised a new heart and a new spirit: in place of the stony heart, a heart of flesh (36:26).

As a result of the repeated failures of the nation, the people felt a helplessness and despondency which issued in almost utter despair with regard to the present world. This hopeless pessimism was nurtured by the feeling of the wide difference between the status of Judaism and the divine promises, and between the moral law and the natural life of man. So exalted was the vision that men despaired of its realization. Only their firm trust in a loving and helping God afforded them hope of deliverance,—a hope that became the keynote of the apocalyptic literature before the time of Jesus.

bination. Christianity is the religion of Israel, thought through in its ideal unity, and grasped in the reality of a greater experience. Three things are needed ere the disciples can move to a higher plane of religious attainment: (1) a death which shall shatter their false messianism; (2) a victory which shall restore to them all of which they deemed the death had robbed them; (3) the abiding presence of Jesus, which shall reproduce in undreamed of power and joy their life with him in Galilee."—Kilpatrick, Art. "Salvation," in Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," p. 122.

From Israel, comes also the conception of mediators of salvation,—not cosmic, material, or angelic, but human. Only through men can God save men. The mediator was now the holy community, now the holy individual, but always human. To develop men to mediate the life of God was Israel's supreme mission and the outcome of its history. Among them were peasants and princes, statesmen and warriors, prophets and sages, unnamed heroes and saints. They were the anointed, the messiahs of Jehovah; forerunners of the man of Nazareth, the Son of man, the Son of God, the suffering Servant, and the conquering Lord. When the expectant saints caught a glimpse of him, they were ready to join with Simeon in the cry:

Now lettest thou thy servant depart, Lord, according to thy
word, in peace;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples;
A light for revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel.

The religion of the prophets came to life in Jesus, and he gave it deeper meaning and wider application.

II

In the Gospel according to Mark, Jesus is introduced in this wise: "And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in the Jordan" (1:9). He came out into the desert with the multitude to hear the new prophet, him of the camel's-hair garment and the girdle of skin. In appearance he was a Jew, a resident of a despised village, an artisan, a layman not taught in the schools, reared after the manner of Jewish children in home,

synagogue, and community. He knew the law and the prophets, the psalms and the proverbs. He shared the religious and social traditions and conditions of his people, felt keenly their poverty, desolation, and despair. He was inspired by their hopes, and doubtless longed with them for the salvation of Jehovah, for national independence, for a better time when the promises of God would be vindicated and Israel would triumph,—all of which would be accomplished by the coming of the long-expected Messiah.

Jesus was stirred to the depths by the burning eloquence of John, and felt an irresistible impulse to respond to the message and to receive baptism in the Jordan. Then and there he saw the heavens rent asunder; and the Spirit descended upon him as a dove; and a voice came out of the heavens, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased." Deep called unto deep. The divinity within him, quickened into full self-consciousness by the divine voice from above, responded to the heavenly vision. He went down into the water a Galilean peasant; he came up out of the water the Christ of God: a mystery in the inmost consciousness of Jesus which we shall not pretend to explain. Its effects, however, are undeniable and clear.

He was henceforth in the grip of an overwhelming and all-controlling conviction of a distinctive divine mission, not merely as a disciple of John but as the Anointed of God. In the strength of this conviction he was driven into the wilderness; from which he came forth, confirmed in the reality of his calling, and with the firm resolve to fulfil his mission in God's own way. For he declined to be a military messiah, such as the Zealots expected; or a passive messiah, awaiting

a sudden manifestation and exaltation by the power of God, such as the Rabbis looked for. His was the messiahship of preaching, teaching, serving, suffering, sacrificing; a conception foreign to most of the Jews of that day, and new in the thoughts of men generally.

He began his work as a herald of good news. In the words of Mark, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel [good tidings] of God." The substance of his gospel is briefly defined as follows: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel." The proclamation of this message was the outcome of the experience of his baptism and temptation. His words were like John's, but his person and life differed widely from John's. Jesus had a new sense of the nearness of the Kingdom; of the conditions for entrance into it; of the will of God which men of the Kingdom were to observe, and of his own personal mediatorship in the realization of it.

He was the prophet announcing the coming Kingdom of God and the fall of Jerusalem; the master who taught his disciples the way of life and denounced the Pharisees; the savior and lord who healed the sick, forgave sins, and cast out demons; the martyr on the cross who gave his life for men; the messiah on the throne, about to return to establish his kingdom upon earth. Each of these terms describes a phase of his work; yet none of them, nor all of them, comprehend all that he was, and taught, and achieved. He himself was conscious of perfect communion with God and inwardly sure of the divine call; knowing himself as the bearer of complete redemption, the fulfilment of prophecies in his person and work.

He proclaimed his gospel in the apocalyptic language

of his time, in terms current among his people; such as the Kingdom of God, the Messiah, the Son of man, the Son of God. He never defined these phrases, but gave them new meaning through his life and death, his resurrection and glorification. For, in the end, he was the content of his gospel. In the words of Professor Harnack, "Jesus lived and spoke within the circle of eschatological ideas which Judaism had developed more than two hundred years before; but he controlled them by giving them a new content and forcing them into a new direction." [11] From this point of view Professor Loisy defines the original gospel of Jesus in these words:

The ideal of Jesus was national in its setting, religious and moral in its spirit, the mystical program of a universal revolution of which the execution was left to the omnipotence of the Eternal. God was at last about to reveal himself, as the prophets had predicted he would; he was prepared to exercise his justice upon all nations, and especially upon his own—upon Israel, heir of the promise. He would come at an unexpected moment, like a thief. The righteous who were alive would be gathered together amid the commotion in which the world was to be plunged, even as Noah with his family was saved in the ark when the deluge came. The righteous who were dead would be raised to life. The wicked would be left to punishment or to eternal death. Some righteous pagans might be admitted to the society of the elect. Over this society God would veritably reign, represented by a predestined leader (*chef*), the Messiah. This leader was to be none other than Jesus himself, and he was to appear in the great manifestation of power by which the age of felicity would be inaugurated on the regenerated earth.

In the meantime, Jesus was only the prophet of the expected kingdom; he declared it imminent, and he required that instant preparation should be made for it; he stated

[11] "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., I. p. 62.

the conditions on which access could be had to it. Descent from Abraham was not a sufficient title; even the external observation of the law, in all the rigor which the Pharisees applied to it, was no guarantee. What was indispensable was to believe in the messenger of Heaven, to prepare for the coming of the great Judge, to acquire the state of feeling befitting the servant of a good God. The love of this God for men knew neither reserves nor limits; so too should it be with the love of men toward God, and with their charity one towards another. All concern with the interests of the earth and its future was unnecessary. A new world was about to be born in which human relationships would be changed along with the whole condition of man; the family, the political state, would be no more, but there would be a race of immortals, leading on earth the life of the angels, under the presidency of the King—Christ. This beautiful dream terminated in the cross of Golgotha.[12]

This interpretation of Jesus' gospel seems to be in accord with the teachings of ardent modern adventists more than with those of rigorous orthodox confessionalists. After all, it may be more nearly true to the record than the prevalent view that Jesus came with the deliberate purpose of founding a church,—an organization with officials, dogmas, ordinances, and laws, with divine sanctions, through which men are to be saved from age to age to the end of time or at the final judgment.[13]

Yet nothing, on the other hand, seems clearer than that Jesus in principle did not belong to the apocalyptists. Their picturesque and fantastic symbolism, their attempts to fix times and seasons (Acts 1:7),

[12] The *Hibbert Journal,* "The Christian Mystery," October, 1911.

[13] Nothing is more clear than that Jesus did not purpose the founding of a church. He had no thought of an organization. He desired only that his people might be in the Kingdom of God instead of the kingdom of the world.—Weinel, "Neutestamentliche Theologie," p. 106.

their far-flung prophetic programs, find no place in his message. His aim is rather to show men what manner of life they must live when God's reign or dominion comes. He shifts the emphasis from the spectacular and the grotesque to the ethical and religious demands of the Kingdom. "The Kingdom is more than a phrase or a vision; it is a great determining and fertilizing idea, or world of ideas, a realm of facts and forces, of motives and ideals, into which men could enter only *sub persona infantis*, whose wealth is open only to the poor in spirit, amid whose impulses and influences men might live and grow to a wonderful maturity of knowledge, character, and power." [14] In one sense, men were already in the Kingdom and the Kingdom was in them. In another sense, they were to be prepared for the Kingdom and were to be at once its heralds and its servants.

The permanent and unchangeable element in the gospel, therefore, was Jesus—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever,—his person, his word and work, his life and death and resurrection. These were first set in the apocalyptic framework of Judaism, and later in the ecclesiastical forms of ancient Catholicism. Both were sincere attempts to make known unto men the height and depth, the length and breadth of the love of God in Christ, the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Whether terms were taken from Jewish apocalypses, Hellenic philosophy, or Roman law, they were only transient forms or media, which half concealed and half revealed Jesus, only earthen vessels for the life of God in the souls of men. Professor Scott says:

[14] Kilpatrick, Art. "Salvation," in Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," p. 118.

The apocalyptic categories which Jesus himself had used were gradually replaced by others of a more abstract and philosophical nature, to which the Gentile mind could respond more easily. From this later modification of Jesus' teaching rather than from the teaching itself, the Christian theology has taken its departure. It represents the attempt to translate an eschatological message into terms borrowed from Greek speculation and in their manner to express more fully its import. . . . Now we are able to distinguish between the original message and the theology which grew out of it.[15]

When Jesus announced the coming of the Kingdom, he had not in mind primarily a new religion or a new church. His purpose was to assure his nation that now its highest hope was to be realized, and therefore he called upon his people to repent, to face seriously and resolutely the will of God, which was the law of the Kingdom. Yet by his life, in both word and deed, he so interpreted the nature of the coming order as to make it something essentially new, and greater than the vision of prophets or the wisdom of sages had visaged it. So different was it from the expected Kingdom that Israel, not discerning the day of its visitation, failed to see that a new religion was born, which was in substance a new faith in God, a new fellowship of men, and a new attitude toward the world. It was disowned by Jew and Gentile, and therefore was both a gospel of salvation and a judgment of condemnation.

The assumption underlying the proclamation of Jesus was that men were under the power of a kingdom not of God, yea, at enmity with God and irreconcilable with him. From the thraldom of the powers of the world Jesus promised deliverance.

[15] *American Journal of Theology,* April, 1914, "The Significance of Jesus for Modern Religion in view of his Eschatological Teaching."

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.
—Luke 4:18, 19.

The Kingdom, however, is a gift of God, not a creation of man or an evolution of nature. It is "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (John 1:13). It is to come upon earth without human intervention in a supernatural way by act of the omnipotent God. Yet Jesus showed men how to prepare for its coming, and what its nature is to be. This in itself implies that the Kingdom was ethically conditioned; for men's attitude toward it has a retarding or a hastening effect upon its coming. Yet, the Kingdom is none the less God's: his is the power and the glory of it.

Jesus' message of repentance required a new attitude and disposition toward God,—a personal relation of filial faith and obedience, comprehending far more than punctilious observance of laws, celebration of sacraments, or acceptance of dogmas. The heavenly Father loves, provides, and guides. The whole world is under his care. His almighty power is capable of attaining the purposes of his infinite love. Into the fellowship of such a faith Jesus brought his disciples. Men were to live with the Father as he did. For it was ever Jesus' ultimate aim to unite God and man as he was united with God. He taught them to pray "*our* Father." To live and to pray in this way was salvation—something wholly different from anything that Judaism or paganism offered.

Jesus' message required, furthermore, a new disposition of men towards one another, expressing itself in love, mutual respect, service, and sacrifice in the spirit in which he lived among men. This love is a love that reaches beyond the bounds of caste and nation, comprehensive and inclusive as the love of God; a love that forgives seventy times and seven; a love of enemies, of them that hate you and despitefully use you; a love that goes out in search of the lost until they are found; a love that will patiently wait for the sinner's return, and will die for him. Jesus' life and death are the definition of his love, the personal embodiment of the love of God, which is to be the motive controlling men in their relations toward one another.

Jesus' message required also a new disposition of men toward the universe, the vast world of things; not that of ascetic abstinence, nor that of lawless indulgence, but one of self-mastery and purity, which makes all things subservient to the eternal purpose of righteousness and love. He warns against mammon, and against anxious care for the future. Yea, it is far better that an eye or a hand perish, than that the whole body be cast into hell. Men's destiny in eternity will be determined by their love, their faith, their self-control. For these are the criteria of judgment either at death or at his coming. The final test is the disposition of the heart; not the asceticism of John, nor the legalism of the Pharisees.

Jesus, at the same time, recognized man's inability to do the will of God,—the one great lesson taught by human experience since time began, the inability or depravity of men. There has ever been the sense of helplessness in the presence of divine holiness. In the light of the glory of God men have ever been humbled

to the dust and have cried for mercy. The law convinces men of sin; through the commandment sin became exceeding sinful (Romans 7:13). Jesus did more than recognize the sinfulness of man; he revealed it to men in a way in which they never feel it save in his presence. Men did not know the sinfulness of sin until they knew him, nor did they appreciate the love of God until they heard from him the assurance of forgiveness. The law came through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. He made known the God of grace, who forgives unto the uttermost, asking only that men accept his pardon. This is the message of the parable of the prodigal; this is the meaning of sinful man on the one side, and of the gracious God on the other. The one is the love that will not let me go; the other reaches out and cries, "Just as I am without one plea."

The vision of this God in the face of Jesus Christ is the power that saves. How could those who had seen this vision help but call him Savior? Through him men became new creatures, for they were filled with a new faith, a new hope, and a new love in the presence of eternity, whether it be above us or before us. This is the mystery of Christian redemption. It is on the one hand an act of God through Christ, and on the other it is the Christian life in men: both a divine gift and a human achievement. God's love, man's need, Jesus mediating divine love to human need,—this is the substance of his salvation.

Jesus himself was an epitome of the Kingdom; in him the powers of the world to come were operative. The blind received their sight and the lame walked, the lepers were cleansed and the deaf heard, the dead were raised up and the poor had good tidings preached

to them. Before men had thought out profound theories of redemption with incomparable philosophic acumen, Jesus was saving men. Virtue went out of him. He was Savior and Lord. He delivered men from the present evil world, from physical and mental disease, from error and immorality, from sensualism and selfishness, from intolerable sorrow and gloom, from fear of death and of hell. He begat in them a new sense of God's presence, a new feeling of dependence upon God, a new valuation of life, of personality, of the universe, of eternity. They looked upward and outward, thrilled with new faith and with new love. He wrought reconciliation and peace between God and the soul. Men were prepared to venture everything for God, and for the pearl of great price they would sell all they had. Jesus' enthusiasm, his love, and his courage came to be mighty impulses, the originating causes of all that is good in his disciples. So great was the redemptive power that went forth from his person, that even his death could only temporarily perplex his followers. His cross became the consummate manifestation of the saving love of God. The final revelation of the ultimate principles of the Kingdom, the gospel of Jesus, was made clear on Calvary. There we behold the display of the absolute Love from whom all things proceed and by whom all men are saved. There we behold the suffering of the eternal Love for the sinner, and the eternal hope of the sinner seeking life and salvation.

"He was too great that he should die," says Lagarde. This is the impression that he made upon his disciples during his close fellowship with them, and it was too deep to be quenched by death. For as in his earthly life he gave his disciples joy, consolation, courage, and

assurance of victory, so after his death men, experiencing his redemptive power more profoundly than during his life, knew that he lived.[16] Is it not perchance true that faith in his resurrection is the effect, rather than the cause of salvation?

Whether the Kingdom comes suddenly or gradually, whether it be upon earth or in heaven, Jesus Christ is its life,—the door of entrance, the motive power of its members, the standard of judgment, the eternal hope. Both the blessings of the Kingdom and the conditions of entrance into it were bound up with him. For only when men came to him, did they see the true significance of it and receive assurance of its reality. In him the gospel is word and deed. He lived it, and inspired others to live it. He is the Son who knows the Father and makes him known to others. Through him they are convinced that God is gracious and that their sins are forgiven. From him they receive the motive of the new life,—the service of love. This vital relation between Jesus and his gospel was far more a necessary inference made by his disciples, who felt the power of his life, than a direct element of his message.

Jesus never failed to turn men's thought to the future. The life of the Kingdom is the eternal life—the timeless and spaceless life. Death cannot destroy it. The Kingdom and Life are interchangeable terms. The constant assertion of this is the distinct contribution of Adventism: it has couched in apocalyptic terms a truth that we must not lose sight of in our stress on the Christianizing of the social order, as if that might be the "be all and end all" of Christianity. The full fruition of salvation is in the future, in eternity. The

[16] Wernle, "The Beginnings of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. p. 116.

present life is forever preparatory; a repentance and, in a way, a hope for the Kingdom to come, for the best that is yet to be. The Church was right in its translation of the advent hope, the expectation of Christ's return to men, into the heavenly life, the hope of men's return to Christ. In this sense, we are saved by hope; we live in the world, and yet above it; our citizenship is in heaven. The message of Jesus always has to do with last things, with eternity, and retains from beginning to end its eschatological character. His eyes were fixed, as much as those of any prophet, on the future, when the purpose of God will be fully realized. His gospel will always sound the note of the end, of the nearness of judgment, of the coming Kingdom. He eliminated the material and national conception of the Kingdom, but not for a moment was he content with its present realization. He died and rose with his face toward eternity, toward the future. That was the great and new thing in his message,—the life in God now, that will find its completion and perfection in the future. Deprive it of that hope and you weaken its hold upon human life.

How was the salvation of Jesus made effective in his followers? Not by legal enactments, not by the acceptance of formulas, not by sacramental acts, but by fellowship of the living person with living persons. They lived with him, walked with him, talked with him, worked with him. He preached and taught and healed, and sent them forth to preach and teach and heal. By his precept and practice, and by their self-surrender and service, men became recipients of his spirit, partners of his vision and work, of his self-denial and sacrifice, and were saved. In his company deliverance from sin and life in God became a human

experience,—an experience new in the history of man, and yet capable of repetition through him from age to age.

It was for the followers of Jesus, who experienced his redemptive power, to define it in comprehensible words. But long before they spoke of it in the difficult terms of soteriology,—such as regeneration, justification, atonement, redemption,—they were saved by Jesus. This is, doubtless, the supreme mystery of history, the perpetual miracle baffling the mind of man. Yet it is, at the same time, an undeniable fact of human experience, and has been a force in human life that has worked for good far exceeding the reach of the human imagination. To define it is not the primary thing. It is for us rather to show men Jesus until they come under the power of his person, the saving efficacy of his life, and themselves live in his spirit. How the Church from the earliest times to the present felt and taught the way of salvation, remains for us to consider.

CHAPTER IV

THE WAYS OF THE APOSTLES

The crucifixion spread consternation among the followers of Jesus. They returned to their homes with shattered faith and disappointed hopes. Their mood was expressed by the two disciples on the way to Emmaus: "But we hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel" (Luke 24:21). Yet they were only temporarily perplexed, not finally defeated. Not even the death on the cross could efface the deep impression made upon them by the life of Jesus, or long stifle their conviction of his ultimate victory. Their faith was renewed and their hope revived by the vision of the risen Lord. In the strength of it they came together again, now in Galilee and then in Jerusalem, and spoke the word "with all boldness" (Acts 4:29).

The resurrection was proof positive that Jesus, who was crucified, lives and reigns, and through his spirit continues his redemptive activity. In his first sermon Peter summarized the faith of the earliest Christians in the words: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom ye crucified." He saw combined in the exalted Christ the two ideas that were developed side by side in the religion of Israel,—*the suffering and the sovereign Messiah,* salvation and lordship through the cross. For "the things which God foreshowed by the mouth of all the prophets, that

his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled" (Acts 3:18). His ascension to glory did not in any way interfere with the belief in his return to establish the Kingdom of which the community of believers was both an anticipation and a preparation. "And that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets that have been from of old" (Acts 3:20, 21). The disciples and saints were the true Israel and the heirs of the promises. Salvation was both a present possession and a future hope. Some stressed more the present benefits, others the future blessings. Some thought of the kingdom in a spiritual, others in a political and material, way.

I

The tendency of the latter group was to magnify the messianic hope almost to the exclusion of the life and work of the historical Jesus, and to resolve it into the fulfilment of the political aspirations of Jewish patriots. They were still in the grip of messianic nationalism, and were so absorbed by the second coming that they lost the significance of his earthly ministry, and failed to comprehend how, by his word and work, he completely transformed the Jewish and pagan conceptions of religion and life. The only real value of the first coming was the call to repentance and the preparation of the people to receive him when he comes in glory. This conception was wrought out in the apocalypses, and ended in the sectarianism of the Jewish Christians. There was another group, however, that emphasized the religious benefits of the present;

not, of course, renouncing the hope of a future consummation, but spiritualizing and ethicizing it. These were the forerunners of Paul and John. Professor Wernle says:

> We can trace two divergent tendencies in the early Church, both of which start from Jesus' eschatology. There is first the national Jewish tendency, fragments of which can be found in the Apocalypse—even St. Paul did not show himself quite free from it—Israel must be saved, cost what it may. And there is the freer, broader view which throws a bridge over to Greek thought and finally transforms the whole Jewish eschatology into a religious hope of the next world. This latter alone understood the meaning of the work of Jesus' life.[1]

The primary and distinctive characteristic of all the early Christians, regardless of their attitude toward the return of the Lord, was that they felt themselves in possession of the spirit of Christ. This was the *new thing*—not a doctrine nor an organization, but a quality of life—which in time differentiated them from Jewish messianism and pagan mysticism. Once he was *with* them; now he is *in* them. Professor Bacon says: "The beginning of our religion was the doctrine of 'the Spirit' as an effluence from the risen Jesus." [1a] On this account the first disciples were both the representatives of the kingdom and the messengers of its coming,—"a fragment of the heavenly order thrown forward into the present" and a pledge of a glorious consummation in the future. They experienced salvation here; of that they were sure, and in that they rejoiced and triumphed, though they as yet had not a clearly defined theory of it. For it was a spiritual process before it became a dogmatic statement. Jesus himself was

[1] "Beginnings of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. p. 72.
[1a] "Christianity Old and New," p. 98.

constantly saving men, yet never uttered a word about the philosophy of salvation. Men went away from him in the pursuit of the good with new confidence and zeal. They were no longer oppressed by the sense of guilt nor troubled by the cares of the world; were not even afraid of death. For they were saved, that is, they were children of God under the Father's care.

The Church, whose members were called disciples, saints, and brethren, was to continue what Jesus "began both to do and to teach" while he was upon earth. Through it Christ spoke and acted by his spirit, pending his return in person to reign in triumph. Yea, greater things could his followers do than he did. For his saving power was no longer restrained by the limitations of the flesh and the conditions of his earthly ministry. What Jesus did for the Jews in a brief period, his followers were to do for the Gentiles, also, for an indefinite time. They were to be his "witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts 1:8). For they were the first fruits of the kingdom, living here and now in a new relation to God, practicing the new righteousness, and thus becoming the bearers of Christ's salvation to men.

They were inspired to action far beyond the range of ordinary human effort. They performed miracles, healed the sick, spoke in tongues, and prophesied. Besides these sporadic and spectacular gifts, the Spirit wrought in them the abiding virtues of faith, hope, and love. The whole life was energized and controlled by the Spirit. Men lived and walked in it (Galatians 5:25). Its fruit was "love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control" (Galatians 5:22, 23).

Jesus founded primarily a new *fellowship*, not a new institution; yet the fellowship had in it the potencies of a new religious and social order. *They began to think of God in terms of his Anointed.* He must be like Christ. Jesus, the heroic champion of righteousness, the faithful servant of his fellows, the master of disease and demons, the friend of sinners, the refuge of the weary and heavy-laden, the suffering servant, the bearer of the cross made the Prince of Life and the Lord of Glory—this was the Messiah for whom they now lived and hoped. God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified. What Jesus at first proclaimed in Galilee, "the kingdom of God is at hand," was thus defined in the pentecostal sermon. For Jesus was the king of the Kingdom; and like the king the Kingdom must be. Such a vision of God in the face of Jesus begot in men a new faith, a new hope, and a new love. This was life and salvation.

Their faith in a Christlike God was the root of their boldness when, arraigned before the rulers of Israel, (Acts 4:13), they declared that they must obey God rather than men; of their heroic reliance upon God when they were threatened by the Sanhedrin (Acts 4: 23–31); of their joy in the privilege of suffering dishonor for the name of Jesus (Acts 5:41); of their readiness to share all things they had with those who were in need (Acts 4:35); of their gladness in the daily routine of life (Acts 2:41); of the peace and joy that come from a sense of forgiveness and reconciliation; of the buoyant life by which they rose triumphant above a present evil and hostile world. They could not long continue in fellowship with the Jews, neither could they live at peace with the Gentiles. They were the new and true Israel, the elect of God, a chosen nation,

who had in them the dynamic for the religious and moral transformation of the race. They had something altogether new,—the spirit of Jesus. True, they were without formal doctrines, without organization, without ritual; but they had something far greater,—a new life that would in due time create for itself an organization and an institution through which the saving work of Christ would be continued and the regenerating power of God, communicated through his Son, would accomplish the salvation of the world.

The early Christians did not at once comprehend the spiritual implications of the messiahship of Jesus. They believed in a new kind of messiah, but expected the old kind of kingdom. They could not immediately revise their Jewish customs and laws in the light of the new spirit. Time was needed for experience and reflection to work the change. They were still under the spell of Jewish messianic ideas. Their new hope was cast in apocalyptic forms. They were intent upon national deliverance,—an aspiration naturally revived by the risen Lord. This was clear from the question: "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). They expected him to return in clouds from heaven, in like manner as they beheld him going into heaven (Acts 1:11). They looked forward to the time when he would come back to restore all things (Acts 3:20, 21). Their Jewish eschatology was not an adequate vessel for their essentially Christian hope.

There was, consequently, a recrudescence of apocalyptic ideas in the Christian community. For it failed to interpret the Messiah in terms of the life and work of Jesus. It attached to him all sorts of messianic fancies, which were not the fruit of his spirit. It

thought of him as ascending in clouds and returning in clouds. It pictured him as a mighty conqueror riding on a white horse at the head of the heavenly host to destroy the enemies of God upon earth. His advent was to be preceded by signals of war, famine, pestilence and earthquake, signs in the heavens, and appearances of anti-Christs [2] upon earth. These are Jewish images obscuring the gospel. The emphasis is shifted from the kingdom of God, as the will of God prevailing in the life of man and interpreted by the historic life of Jesus, to last things,—his coming, his judgment, his messianic reign. The recrudescence of Jewish beliefs almost eclipsed the Christian gospel.[3]

This view of the Kingdom and its coming continued for more than a century, especially among Jewish converts and wherever the gospel was not brought under Greek influence. It was doubtless a prominent note in early preaching, and laid strong hold of men during the first century. Professor Harnack says:

> The hopes springing out of Judaism were at first but little modified, that is, only so far as the substitution of the Christian communities for the nation of Israel made modification necessary. In all else, even the details of the Jewish hopes were retained, and the extra-canonical Jewish apocalypses (Esra, Enoch, Baruch, Moses) were diligently read alongside of Daniel. Their contents were in part

[2] Luke 21:25–33; Matt. 24:15–28; I Thess. 4:13–18; Matt. 25:31–46; 19:27–30; II Thess. 1:3–10; II Peter 3:3–14; Revelation 19:11 *sq.;* II Thess. 1:6–10.

[3] "The preaching of Jesus . . . never became the missionary preaching of the later period even to the Jews. It was the *basis* of that preaching . . . but the mission preaching was occupied with the messiahship of Jesus, his speedy return, and his establishment of God's kingdom (if Jews were to be met), or with the unity of God, creation, the Son of God, and judgment (if Gentiles were to be reached)." Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. pp. 47–48.

joined to sayings of Jesus, and they served as models for similar productions. In the Christian hopes of the future, as in the Jewish eschatology, may be distinguished essential and accidental, fixed and fluid, elements: (1) the notion of a final, fearful conflict with the powers of the world which is just to break out, (2) belief in the speedy return of Christ, (3) the conviction that after conquering the secular power (this was variously conceived, as, God's Ministers, as "that which restrains"—II Thess. 2:6,—as a pure kingdom of Satan; see the various estimates in Justin, Melito, Irenæus, and Hyppolytus), Christ will establish a glorious kingdom on the earth and will raise the saints to share that kingdom, and (4) that he will finally judge all men. To the fluid elements belong the notions of the Antichrist, or of the secular power culminating in the Antichrist, as well as notions about the place, the extent, and the duration of Christ's glorious kingdom. But it is worthy of special note, that Justin regarded the belief that Christ will set up his kingdom in Jerusalem, and that it will endure for a thousand years, as a necessary element of orthodoxy, though he confesses he knew Christians who did not share this belief, while they did not, like the pseudo-Christians, reject also the resurrection of the body.[4]

II

Very early, however, even before Paul's mission, there were Christians who discerned with ever-increasing clearness the value of the present benefits of Jesus' redemptive work, to that extent shifting the emphasis from the Christ that was to come to the Christ that was with them now. The overpowering sense of the Spirit's presence, the Christ in them, was bound in time to check the ardent hopes of his future coming. They comprehended the inwardness and spirituality, as well as the universal scope, of the saving work of Jesus. The gospel was felt to be, not merely a revised

[4] "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., I. p. 167, note 1.

law, but the way of a new life not under the coercion of law, but in the freedom of the Spirit. The cross made the Church distinct from the synagogue, and the two could not continue to exist side by side in friendly relations. The separation was hastened and consummated by the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Stephen, the Hellenist, reared in the more liberal atmosphere of the dispersion, was one of the first of the new theologians. He was accused of speaking blasphemous words against Moses and against God (Acts 6:11). He went so far as to declare that "this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us" (Acts 6:14). Not until then were the Jews stirred to a violence that, beginning with the martyrdom of Stephen, continued in a "great persecution against the church which was in Jerusalem." But even those who were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen spoke "the word to none save only to Jews" (Acts 11:19).

Yet, under the stress of human need and the guidance of the divine Spirit,[5] the way gradually opened to practice the broader view of Jesus' mission. Philip preached to the circumcised Samaritans (Acts 8:5); and Peter went into the house of the uncircumcised Cornelius (Acts 11:3). The decisive step was taken when men of Cyprus and Cyrene came to Antioch and "spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus" (Acts 11:20). This group was later represented by James, Peter, and John at Jerusalem, when Paul came there for conference. These pillars among the apostles differed far more from "the false brethren privily brought in" (Galatians 2:4), and from "certain

[5] Acts 10:9–48.

of the sect of the Pharisees who believed" and said that "it is needful to circumcise them, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses" (Acts 15:5), than they differed from Paul. Of course they were still adventists, but they were no longer nationalists. They realized that Christianity was not mainly an eschatological hope, but a present reality. The spirit of Christ here and now assures men of the forgiveness of sin, of divine sonship, of the providence of the heavenly Father, of the hearing of prayer, of the fellowship of brethren, of the victory of righteousness, of eternal life. These blessings remain unimpaired when the apocalyptic framework falls away.

The difference of views on the purpose of Christianity and the nature of its blessings at first was felt rather than defined. It existed among men who belonged to the same Christian fellowship and considered themselves saved (Acts 2:47). They were all disciples, saints, and brethren. They had joy in their hearts notwithstanding temporary griefs through manifold trials. Their joy was rooted in "a living hope" begotten "by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." They had the blessed assurance that by the power of God they "are guarded through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (I Peter 1:5). Once, indeed, they were "without God in the world," "having no hope"; but now their "life is hid with Christ in God." In other words, they have the joy and peace that come from "the salvation of your souls" (I Peter 1:9). They were saved from the present evil world, from the coming judgment, from all that was transient and mortal and that cast a gloom over man's terrestrial life (I Peter 1:3–9).

This assurance was not always based on the same

premises. Some rested confidently on the speedy coming of Christ; others on the divine forgiveness and providence; and others, a little later on, on the effects of mysteries, the sacrament of regeneration and deification: but they all agreed on God as the source of salvation, and on Jesus Christ as its mediator to men. He was declared to be "a Prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins" (Acts 5:31). Men were saved in both a corporate and an individual way. Union with the body of believers was taken for granted. The condition of union, however, was personal repentance and faith. Baptism was the rite of initiation sealing to each recipient all the privileges of the fellowship. The death of Christ was the assurance of the forgiveness of sin; and the resurrection was the pledge of life eternal and the confirmation of the expectation of the return of Jesus to reign with power. Every member of the Church received the Spirit; imparted, not through sacramental media, but immediately by the ascended Christ. "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4; 4:31), or "the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard the word" (Acts 10:44), or "Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit" (Acts 8:17). The Spirit did not come, however, in a magical way, without human preparation. Men received it only when they had the attitude of faith that approved itself by obedience. "So is the Holy Spirit, whom God hath given to them that obey him" (Acts 5:32). There were degrees, as well as diversities, of gifts. The Spirit could not work with equal power in all Christians.

Though the first Christians continued to go into the temple and the synagogues, they had distinctive religious services. "They continued steadfastly in the

apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2:42). "Breaking bread at home, they took their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God" (Acts 2:46, 47). The love feast and the Lord's Supper became a central act of worship: not yet a sacrament in the Catholic sense, but a symbol of the unbroken fellowship of the believer with Christ and with his fellows.[6] It was, also, a prophetic anticipation of the kingdom consummated at his advent.

The subjective condition for the appropriation of salvation was faith. This was more than the acceptance of historic facts or of a prophetic program, though it included these. It was a trustful surrender to Christ, by whom the believer was saved. Power, more than human, came into men; delivered them from their sins; and made them children of God, citizens of the Kingdom. There was, at this stage, neither creed nor book as the object of faith. They trusted and hoped in the living Jesus, whom God raised from the dead and exalted into glory.

The latent differences about the scope and way of salvation came to light when the question was raised, whether or not the Gentiles were to be admitted into the Church; and, if so, on what conditions. The

[6] "Yet, while mysterious, as being supernatural or 'God-produced,' the sacramental grace did not come actually in and through symbols, but simply on occasion of their use. Thus in Baptism the gift of the Spirit through Messiah, which 'sealed' believers for the Kingdom (still in the main future), was experienced sensibly as 'the powers of the age to come.' So too was it with the less ecstatic, more normal grace experienced in the recurrent sacrament of the Breaking of Bread in memory of Christ, when 'worthily' observed, in faith and in love to the brethren. Its outward form was, in fact, like all prophetic symbolism, a dramatic object lesson, in the poetic spirit of Hebraic, and indeed Semitic psychology, to which the symbol remains nothing save in relation to its effect on the soul."—Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," p. 149.

answers to these questions presupposed the way of salvation. Where the eschatological hopes were uppermost, salvation was something to be achieved in the future. Christianity itself was taken to be the ripe product of the Jewish religion, the way of realizing the messianic hopes by the return of the Messiah. The Kingdom was still supposed to be largely political in character and national in scope. The conditions of salvation naturally included the Jewish law and the Christian gospel. Even forgiveness of sin and righteousness were viewed in a moral rather than a religious sense. Eternal life was considered to be the wages of moral living instead of the free gift of God.

Men who held these views—sincerely, we assume—became the bitter antagonists of Paul. They insisted that, "except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved." They went further and preached the gospel to none save only to Jews. They made of Jesus a second Moses who proclaimed a new law and who made salvation depend on the merit of man instead of on the grace of God.

Where the eschatological hopes were offset by a high valuation of the present blessings of the gospel through the indwelling Spirit, there salvation came to be regarded as designed for Jew and Gentile, for man as man; and its conditions were not a blend of Jewish law and Christian faith, but the acceptance of the free gift of God through faith. The Kingdom ceased to be considered as a political order, and became a spiritual possession—a life rooted in grace and truth manifested by Jesus Christ. God alone can give it; faith alone can receive it.

Before Paul there were in the Church those who

looked beyond the boundaries of Judaism, and who dimly comprehended the spirituality and universality of Jesus' message. They were not quite ready to join with Paul, but they leaned his way.[7] They recognized his work among the Gentiles, and extended the right hand of fellowship to him (Galatians 2:9); with the proviso, however, that they should go unto the circumcision, and Paul unto the Gentiles. In the account in Acts 15:19-20 the compromise is made on different terms. "Wherefore my judgment is," said Peter, "that we trouble not them that from among the Gentiles turn to God; but that we write unto them, that they abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood." The leaders of the liberal party in the early Christian community were Peter and John and James; yet even Peter hedged when the test came and trained with the narrow party in Jerusalem. For a time he ate with the Gentiles at Antioch; but, when certain came from James, he and Barnabas drew back, "fearing them that were of the circumcision" (Galatians 2:12). This was only a temporary relapse into the Jewish Christian position, not a permanent acceptance of it. These men prepared the way for Paul, and in time were merged in the Gentile church.

III

Paul was epoch-making in his interpretation of sal-

[7] Weizsäcker ("Apos. Zeitalter," Eng. trans., I. p. 74 *sq.*) emphasizes the fact that before Paul, and alongside of him, the view prevailed, that the law and its observance were not sufficient for justification before God, and that a soteriological significance attached to Jesus the Messiah or to his death.

vation: [8] indeed he was the first to present a theory of it. In his approach to Christ and his experience of his saving power,—his consciousness of having been "laid hold on by Christ Jesus" (Philippians 3:12),—he differed wholly from the earlier disciples. They knew him after the flesh as the man of Galilee; he knew him in the spirit as the man from heaven (II Corinthians 5:16). Yet, like them, he felt himself saved. His life was changed. He broke with the past: the persecutor became a preacher. He lived for the future, with new motives and purposes, and with a new estimate of values. Undreamt of powers awoke in him. He saw visions, spoke with tongues, caught glimpses of the heavenly world, rejoiced in the unspeakable blessedness born of a sense of reconciliation with God and of a life spent in the service of men, was upheld by the hope of eternal life, felt himself debtor to Jew and Gentile, under an irresistible urge undertook superhuman tasks "through him that strengtheneth me." He was describing himself when he said: "If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new" (II Corinthians 5:17).

Moreover, he saw the same transformation in those about him. The glory on the face of Stephen haunted him. The Spirit working in his converts confirmed his

[8] "So far as we can judge, it was Paul who first threw into such sharp relief the significance of Jesus Christ as a Redeemer, making this the central point of Christian preaching. No doubt, the older missionaries had, also, taught and preached that Christ died for our sins (I Cor. 15:3); but in so far as they addressed Jews or people who had for some time been in contact with Judaism, it was natural that they should confine themselves to preaching the imminence of judgment, and also to the task of proving from the Old Testament that the crucified Jesus was to return as the Judge and the Lord of the messianic kingdom."—Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. p. 474.

own experience. They, too, spoke with tongues, prophesied, healed the sick, and shared in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

How was the new life, the way of salvation, to be accounted for? Paul's thinking was doubtless controlled by his experience. He was born a Jew of the dispersion in the Greek city of Tarsus. He grew up as a Pharisee, advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of his own countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the tradition of his fathers (Galatians 1:14). He was by nature a religious genius, concerned with the primary problem of religion, how to become just before God. The desire for personal righteousness interested him far more than the realization of the national messianic hopes of his kinsmen, which at best were of secondary import. This is precisely what one would expect from a man like Paul, with so profound a sense of the ethical demands of religion.

He tried all the devices of Judaism to solve his problem. He punctiliously kept all the commandments. According to the righteousness of the law, he was blameless. Yet he discovered the futility of the attempt to make himself just. His pharisaism ended in dismal failure. He found himself hopelessly entangled in the sinful passions of the flesh. He was carnal, and sold under sin. "For the good which I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I practise" (Romans 7:19). He was in captivity under the law of sin in his members (Romans 7:23). Having done the utmost, he ended with a cry of despair: "Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" (Romans 7:24).

He discovered the impotence of law and of human effort to save; for reliance upon obedience ends either

in spiritual pride growing out of a sense of personal merit, or in hopeless despair resulting from a sense of absolute inability. The law convinces one of sin, but is powerless to make one righteous.

What he failed to obtain by law, he received as a gift of grace, even "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (Romans 8:2). "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (Romans 8:3, 4). Again, "I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God" (Galatians 2:19). He was not under law, but under grace; with the Spirit of his Son in his heart, crying, Abba, Father (Galatians 4:5, 6). He was freed "from the law of sin and of death" (Rom. 8:2), and had come under the power of "the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus"—a new principle, or dynamic, which superseded the old law. Now he can fulfil "the ordinance of the law," for he walks no longer "after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (Rom. 8:4). The Christian is in one sense the object and instrument of divine power, in a passive state; yet in another sense he is free and active, for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (II Corinthians 3:17). This experience was the fontal source of the religious and ethical enthusiasm which is characteristic of primitive Christianity. The believer is no longer a servant working for wages, but a son enjoying an inheritance. He exults in the triumphant assurance that he is not under condemnation, and that nothing can separate him from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (Romans 8:1, 39).

In solving his own religious problem, he solved the supreme problem of the race. For, sooner or later, every man must adjust himself to his God. Wherever there is a desire for righteousness, and the consciousness of failure in its pursuit, there Paul offers a message of glad tidings, a satisfactory answer to the soul's deepest need. On this account he was called to preach Christ to the Gentiles, and felt himself debtor to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish (Romans 1:14). He had discovered the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greeks (Romans 1:16). He thus lifted the gospel out of the narrow confines of Palestine, and proclaimed it to men of all lands and times. He was the first to say: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free."

In his own helplessness he discerned the depravity of the race as a whole. Jew and Gentile were equally under sin and condemnation. By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified (Galatians 2:16). The present world is evil (Galatians 1:4). The whole creation was subjected to vanity, in hope that it also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Romans 8:20). There is also an invisible world of evil, composed of principalities, powers, world-rulers of this darkness, and spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places (Ephesians 6:12).

The reach of sin and of the powers of evil in the universe has its counterpart in the wideness of the scope of Christ's redemptive work. He must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet. Death itself will be abolished. In the end the Son also shall be subjected unto him that did subject all things, that

God may be all in all (I Corinthians 15:25–28). Before this sublime drama of redemption one stands in awe and admiration. It far exceeded the vision of the apostles before Paul. No wonder that "in all his epistles" they found "some things hard to be understood" (II Peter 3:16).

The ground of salvation is the crucified and risen Lord. That which was to the Jews a stumbling-block became to the apostle a stepping-stone. Not the teacher, not the miracle-worker, not the protagonist of the Pharisees, was for Paul the chief thing. The crucified and risen Son of God is alone significant. Through the cross the gospel of divine love and grace was made manifest. "Far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Galatians 6:14). In terms of Jewish and Greek thought he explains the mystery of redemption; the efficacy of which, let it always be remembered, does not depend upon the adequacy of the theory by which it is interpreted.[9]

The unmerited death of Jesus is the source of all salvation. He died for our sins according to the Scriptures. Paul clearly says that he gave "Christ crucified" the central place in his message. "But we preach Christ crucified" (I Corinthians 1:23). The word of the cross is the power of God unto us who are saved (I Corinthians 1:18). Thus Christ is announced as *the Savior*. So much Paul held in common with the early Christians (I Corinthians 15:3); in his theory, however, he was far beyond them. The cross was the price paid for redemption.[10] It was a propitiation through sacrifice (Romans 5:10; Galatians 3:13),—

[9] See addendum at end of this chapter.

[10] "But, if we are not to read into Paul's words what is not there, we must not ask to whom the price is paid." Art. "Erlösung," "Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart," II. p. 478.

an idea which he reiterates in his epistles with variations, now in legal and then in ceremonial terms (Galatians 3:13; Romans 5:6, 7). The sacrificial motive was not in men, but in the heart of God, "who commended his own love toward us, . . . while we were yet sinners" (Romans 5:8). The sacrifice is not for Jews only, but for men generally. The cross is in the center of human history, even of the material and the spiritual universe (Colossians 1:20). Other sacrifices are forever superseded through the sacrifice of Calvary, made once, but of force always.

Through his death Christ delivered us from sin and this present evil world (Galatians 1:4), from the law and death (Galatians 3:13 and 4:5), from the wrath of God and condemnation (Romans 5:9). Sin in the flesh was condemned (Romans 8:3); the law was "blotted out" (Colossians 2:14); and we are discharged from it, having died to that wherein we were held (Romans 7:4–6).

In Romans 5:18–19 there is a clear summary of Paul's theory of redemption: "So then as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life. For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous."

The death of Jesus, however, must not be held apart from his resurrection. The risen Lord showed the worth of the crucified Christ. God himself vindicated his Son by raising him from the dead, and bore witness to the divine value of his death. The dominion of death itself was broken and the power of an endless life was made manifest. Men were controlled by a

new ethical motive. "He died for all, that they that live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again" (II Corinthians 5:15). Through his death men were delivered from the legal and servile conception of religion, and lived in the spirit of trust, gratitude, and love. They died with him unto sin and rose with him unto holiness. A lively hope was begotten in men; who now turned with eager longing toward the general resurrection and the world to come.

If we are reconciled through the death of Christ, we shall be saved through his life. From him who ascended on high and led captivity captive (Ephesians 4:8), men received the Spirit, the Spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father (Galatians 4:6). For they were not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelt in them (Romans 8:9).

To have the Spirit of Christ is to have salvation. Thus men are in mystical union with God through faith, and have both the substance and the promise of the Kingdom (Romans 8:11). The emphasis is shifted from the future to the present. As Christ died on the cross, the Christian dies unto sin. He is buried with Christ through baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life (Romans 6:4). He is to live in the Spirit and seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God (Colossians 3:1). His citizenship is in heaven.

Paul's conception of salvation was shaped by his view of human nature and of the indwelling Spirit. Believing, as he did, that man's nature is inherently evil,—the root of sin, the body of this death, incapable

of the higher life,—he held that it was radically transformed by a new divine principle, coming from God through Christ and received by man through faith. The carnal man becomes a spiritual man, renewed in his whole being and destined to immortality. "It is one of the facts," says Kirsopp Lake, "which we have to take as beyond dispute, that the Greek who was converted to Christianity by St. Paul did believe that he actually had obtained a changed nature." [11] Salvation is thus a present reality and not simply a future hope. Wellhausen says:

> Paul's special work was to transform the gospel of the kingdom into the gospel of Jesus Christ, so that the gospel is no longer a prophecy of the coming kingdom but its actual fulfillment of Jesus Christ. In his view, accordingly, redemption from something in the future has become something which already has happened and is now present. He lays far more emphasis on faith than on hope; he anticipates the sense of future bliss in the present feeling of being God's son; he vanquishes death and already leads a new life on earth. He extols the strength that is made perfect in weakness; the grace of God is sufficient for him, and he knows that no power, present or future, can take him from his love and that all things work together for good to them that love God.[12]

Thus Paul completed and, in his own way, defined the tendency in primitive Christianity which stressed present experience more than future hopes. He was the lineal successor of Stephen and those who leaned toward the spiritual and ethical interpretation of Christ's work without reference to time and place. He recognizes salvation as already accomplished. The spiritual resurrection takes place here. The future

[11] "Stewardship of Faith," p. 105; also, "Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity," p. 58.

[12] Quoted in Harnack, "What is Christianity?" Eng. trans., p. 178.

resurrection is only the completion of the present resurrection, an exchange of the carnal for the spiritual body of the life to come.

Yet Paul by no means dispenses with eschatology. It plays no small part in his view of salvation; which is a matter of the future as well as of the present, of hope as well as of faith. For the sinful nature of a man is changed only in principle. He must become what by the grace of God he is. He must gradually subdue flesh and sin, suffering and death, sustained in the struggle by faith in the present Christ and hope in the coming glory. In his epistles Paul invariably holds out the coming Lord and the consummation of the age as an inspiring hope and a moral motive. All that is hostile to God must be brought low: angelic and demonic powers, death itself, must be vanquished. All creation must be delivered from corruption and become radiant with glory. The redeemed will lay off this mortal body and put on spiritual bodies like unto his own glorious body; and they shall be forever with the Lord.

Blending with this picture of the future are traditional details, derived from Jewish sources; such as the Antichrist, the coming of the Messiah, the restoration of Israel, the day of judgment, the millennium, and paradise. The process of change is also described in Jewish fashion as effected by divine fiat, and attended with many wonders and catastrophes. These are remnants of an earlier mode of thought, which the apostle in principle outlived, and yet in fact had not yet discarded. They are not an essential part of his gospel and are hard to reconcile with his theory of salvation. In this respect he unconsciously conformed to a law of religious development, as defined by the Dean of

St. Paul's, London: "Religion never casts off her dead branches; she leaves them on the tree till they drop off of themselves." [13]

The idea of the Parousia, however, recedes into the horizon of Paul's vision, while the indwelling Christ comes into the center of his thought. The heart of his message in reference to the future is, like that of Jesus, the blessed assurance that we shall ever be with the Lord (I Thessalonians 4:17).

For many Christians, then and even now, this conception of last things is too refined and sublimated to appeal to the imagination. They find more satisfaction in the picturesque symbolism of the Apocalypse, and in this they nurture their hopes rather than in the idealism of Paul's epistles.

Paul also propounded a new conception of the person of Christ. Out of his soteriology came a corresponding christology. The naïve views of Jesus held by the primitive Christians were not adequate to account for all the facts in his life. They thought of him as Son of God in the messianic or official sense, after the analogy of the Second Psalm, v. 7: "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee." To the Jew this was no more than an official relation between God and his Anointed, without a thought of metaphysical sonship. Such a theory was not adequate to explain the filial consciousness of Jesus, and the content of Christian experience, especially that of Paul. He beheld Jesus as the man "from heaven." He spoke of him as "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (Romans 1:4). His death he re-

[13] The *Constructive Quarterly Review*, July, 1913. Quoted by Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," p. 69.

garded not only as having value for all men, but as having profound significance for God. The sinful nature of men was transformed by the Spirit of life proceeding from Christ. All this lifted Jesus out of the realm of the merely human into the sphere of the transcendent and divine. In principle, power, and function he is one with God. In him there is an element that is not in other men: he is man, but far more. He is in a unique sense divine.

Paul, accordingly, gave new meaning to the messianic term "Son of God." He declared him to have existed with God before he came upon earth. He took the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; he became obedient unto death. Wherefore God highly exalted him and gave him a name that is above every name (Philippians 2:6–11). He speaks of him also as the "man from heaven," as "the last Adam," in distinction from "the first man Adam." The former was a "life-giving spirit," the head of a new species of man; the latter was a living soul, the head of the natural and sinful man. Through the one all die, and through the other shall all be made alive. This whole transaction, however, is controlled by an ethical motive. Jesus became man for the sake of obedience and service, that through him men might be saved, and that in him they might have an ideal and example of conduct. "The Son of God became man such as we are, that we men might become Sons of God as He is."

This sublime scheme of redemption, in its cosmic and historical scope so magnificently wrought out in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, prepares the way for, and contains the substance of, the doctrine of the incarnate Logos in the Gospel of John; and both, when carried to their logical conclusions, annul

the messianic hopes of the early Christians. One cannot fail to recognize, however, that in building a christology upon the heavenly man, rather than upon the historical Jesus, the door is opened for christological speculations which in time will overshadow the Christ of history. What Jesus taught men, without reference to a metaphysical or cosmic background, by living a human life among them, Paul teaches by describing the humility and obedience, even unto death, of the Son of God who came down from heaven. To prevent the Pauline speculation from becoming merely an intellectual dogma, without religious value, we need to relate it constantly to the man of Galilee in the Gospels.

It remains for us to consider the ways by which the Spirit of Christ comes into men and effects his saving work. According to Paul, the condition on man's part is faith; and the media through which the Spirit operates are the Word of God, the Church, and the Sacraments.

Faith is an attitude and a disposition of trust and surrender to Christ and his Spirit. The redemptive power of Christ, revealed in him crucified, risen, glorified and coming, has free and unhindered play in the mind and heart of man. It is the Spirit that evidences itself in works of faith, labors of love, and patience of hope. It is attended with the assurance and peace that come with reconciliation and sonship. True, there are occasional passages in Paul's epistles, which, taken alone, seem to resolve faith into assent to doctrinal statements relating to the Lordship of Jesus, the resurrection from the dead, and vicarious sacrifice. Romans 10:9 at once comes to mind: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in

thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." [14] Passages like these, however, must be read in connection with those which set forth faith in a living person and in his saving power. When separated, certain statements lean in the direction of acceptance of ecclesiastical or theological formulas, instead of trustful surrender to the living Christ.

Through the word faith is begotten in the heart. So belief cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ (Romans 10:17). The gospel is the power of God unto salvation. Where the word is preached, the Spirit works in men and awakens the response of faith.

Paul's conception of the Church is closely related to his doctrine of the Christ. The Church is primarily an organism, not an institution, composed of living persons, the community of believers. It is the body of Christ, through which his spiritual energies and his saving powers flow into the members (I Corinthians 12:12–31). It is the agency through which every man may be presented perfect in Christ (Colossians 1:28). Through its ministry all the saints are to attain "unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Ephesians 4:12, 13).

The Church in its organic form is the bearer of salvation, the sacrament of sacraments. In view of his idea of the Church Paul might have been prepared to say: "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus." Thoroughly evangelical and an apostle of Christian freedom as he was, later Catholicism might well take comfort, and find proof for its doctrine of the Church, in the writings of Paul.

[14] See also, I Cor. 15:1–7.

It was but a step from the mystical and sacramental idea of the Church to the mystical and sacramental ordinances. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were primitive Christian rites which Paul also received in addition to the doctrines of Jesus' death, burial, and resurrection.[15] Originally they were signs of membership in the messianic community and seals of the blessings of salvation. Paul clearly resolves them into channels of grace, instruments through which the saving power of Christ works in the recipients.

The baptized were buried with him, and raised with him into newness of life; united with him in the likeness of his death, they were also united with him in the likeness of his resurrection (Romans 6:3; Colossians 2:12). Baptism is clearly considered a miracle and a mystery, by virtue of which the one who is baptized becomes a different person from what he was before his baptism.

The Lord's Supper is more than a memorial and a feast of love; it is a symbol of fellowship with the living Christ and with the believing Christian. In partaking of bread and wine one is nurtured by spiritual food and drink, which impart to the communicant the power of salvation (I Corinthians 11:23–33; 10:16 *sq.*). Wernle says: "It is strange that the hero of the word should also become the creator of the sacrament, in this respect also a forerunner of Catholicism."

Paul in more than one way became the vessel of

[15] There are recent scholars who claim that the sacramental idea was found before Paul in the earliest Christian communities, and even anterior to Christianity itself. So Bousset and Heitmüller. In the first volume of "The Beginnings of Christianity," Eng. trans., p. 273, Wernle traced the origin of the sacraments as means of grace to Paul. In the second volume he gives up this view and accepts the position of Bousset and Heitmüller. Vol. II, Eng. trans., p. 128.

God to bear the gospel to the Gentiles. He made the sole condition of salvation God's grace appropriated by man's faith. Thus he had a message equally applicable to all men; freed from Jewish nationalism and legalism, and from Greek intellectualism and moralism. He boldly declared Christianity a new religion, different in principle from Judaism and paganism, and yet the fulfilment of the best elements, hopes, and aspirations of both.

Cast in messianic and apocalyptic forms, the gospel would not have been understood by the Greeks, and would have had a scant hearing among Gentiles. Paul's interpretation of salvation as the transformation of man's sinful nature through the power of the divine Spirit proceeding from God in human form; his doctrine of the pre-existent Christ become man; the cosmological, historical, and soteriological setting which he gave Jesus as the "man" from "heaven" and the "second Adam," the head of a new race; his conception of the Church and the sacraments as the bearers and channels of mysterious divine powers for man's redemption,—all these ideas were original contributions of the Apostle to the Gentiles, which superseded the Jewish Christian messianism, made the gospel appeal to the imagination of Greek and Roman, and yet prepared the way for developments in Catholicism which were foreign to the spirit and purpose of Paul.

IV

We cannot close this study of the apostolic ways of salvation without reference to the Fourth Gospel.[16]

[16] See Pfleiderer, "Ausbreitung des Christenthums;" also Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," pp. 73–76.

Here the death of Christ is no longer the only ground of redemption, the only way of reconciliation between God and man, as it is in Paul's writings. The primary emphasis is put on the incarnation of the *Logos*, through which the union between God and man is effected. The *Logos* in the flesh is evidence of the possible reconciliation of all contradictions in human life. For in the light of it there must be essential kinship between the finite and the infinite, the temporal and the eternal, the human and the divine. This kinship is made manifest in the divine-human life of Jesus. The Jewish Christians looked forward to the Kingdom of God; this hope is rarely mentioned in the writings of John: they speak of "eternal life," which men have here and now by faith in Christ. Out of the religion of hope and of the future, John made a religion of realization and of the present. The benefits of salvation are a blessed possession.[17]

The basal thought of John may be put in modern form as follows: In his picture of Christ he tries to show that God is not far from man, but abides in him, reveals himself in and through him; and that, in spite of his earthly limitations, he is capable of being the bearer of God's spirit and power. In short, it is the idea of the union of the divine and the human in one

[17] Professor Lake, speaking of the Gospel of John, says: "Jesus appears as the supernatural Lord (though this word is not characteristic of the Gospel) who reveals the Father to men. He offers them salvation by regeneration in baptism, and by eating his flesh and blood in the Eucharist. They become supernaturally the children of God. This is the teaching of the Hellenised Church, not of the historic Jesus. But running through the Gospel there is also another line of thought which regards salvation as due to knowledge rather than sacraments. What is the relation to each other of these two ways of regarding salvation? The problem has scarcely been formulated by the students of the Fourth Gospel, much less adequately discussed.—"Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity," p. 95.

person, through ethical self-surrender of man to God, that is cardinal and new in Christianity.

The ultimate nature of God is love; which is revealed in the life of Jesus. Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ, who is the only begotten son in the bosom of the Father. If God is love, then life, light, truth, knowledge, and liberty are different phases of his love. These attributes of God may be appropriated by the children of God, by those who receive him in faith. This faith is always ethically determined: it is variously expressed as believing in him, knowing him, loving him, and doing his commandments. The saving truth must be "done," and needs to be loved before it can be known and become life eternal in men. The Word became flesh that men might see, and behold, and handle the Word of life; and thus have fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. This fellowship of faith and love is eternal life.

John also magnifies the doctrine of the Spirit, who comes into the disciples and abides in them, as the Life of their life, even more intimately than Jesus did when he was with them.[18] This conception of the Spirit, which completes a tendency already marked in Paul's thought, largely replaces the older conception of the Second Advent as an event in the near future. "Communion with Christ is already a matter of present experience and new spiritual dynamic." [19] The Gospel and the Epistles are not without their advent hopes, some of them harking back to the early eschatology; yet these are in the background of his thought and are superseded by his doctrine of eternal life.

[18] John 7:39; 14:26; 16:7 *sq.*
[19] Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," pp. 75, 76.

When we hear Jesus speak of the Father's house,—whither he goes to prepare a place for us, and whence he will come to receive us unto himself, that where he is, there we may be also (John 14:1–3),—hopes are awakened in us wholly different from those stirred up by Peter's address in the Temple when he says: "Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus; whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration of all things" (Acts 3:19–21). In the earlier message the essence of the gospel is the Messiah and the Kingdom of God; in the later, the Logos and eternal life. The Messiah will come and establish the Kingdom; the *Logos* is here, and "he that hath the Son hath life" (I John 5:12).

ADDENDUM.—While I was reading the galley-proof of this chapter, I came upon a valuable statement on Paul's message by Professor Benjamin W. Bacon, in the Alumni Lecture entitled, "The Teaching Ministry for To-morrow," published in the *Yale Divinity News*, November, 1922, page 5. Coming as it does from one of America's foremost New Testament scholars, I cannot refrain from quoting it. He says, with an authority which I do not profess to have, what I should like to say on Paul's view of salvation:

"The historical critic finds difficulty with the 'liberal' Christ. As matter of plain fact Christianity did not arise out of the admiration felt either by Paul or the Galilean disciples for Jesus as a Teacher. Indeed they scarcely mention the fact that He was a teacher, still less consider that He presented a new system of ethics. Christianity arose out of what men believed to be the

act of God, not the teaching of any man, however great. Whether it were Paul, or those who were apostles before him, the common message was simply 'the word of the cross.' If some slurred this, then the resurrection. In either case the act of God. God meant something to humanity by what happened in Jerusalem in the year 30. The apostles were witnesses of something that God had done, things that they had seen and heard. That was their 'gospel.' Of course they had to attach a significance to these experiences, and from the nature of the case they sought it in Scripture. That was their theology. The first clause of their primitive creed was that 'Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.' The second (also 'according to the Scriptures') was that God had raised Him from the dead, to bring redemption to the world. That is not ethics. That is religion. A religion grows out of what men think God does. The thought may be wrong or right, or partly one, partly the other; but without it there is no religion. With it there is sure to be, unless the action falls altogether outside human interest. Ethics is a theory of human conduct. You may give it dynamic by incorporating the sanctions of religion. But of itself ethics remains a mere philosophy of conduct, a sociological theory of what men ought to do. Christianity is, and always has been, a religion. It adapted to its needs a very noble system of ethics, but it grew out of certain great occurrences interpreted in a certain way as acts of God. The historical critic knows this, and therefore finds the mere ethical Teacher, the 'liberal Christ' a cause utterly inadequate to account for the rise of the religion."

CHAPTER V

THE ANCIENT CATHOLIC WAY

THE ancient Catholic Church gradually emerged out of apostolic Christianity in the second century. Like Jesus and Paul and John and the Jewish Christians, Catholicism conceived Christianity as a way of salvation. All of them agreed that Jesus was Savior, and his gospel a message of redemption. Men were in one way or another to be delivered from an evil world. On methods of salvation they differed, but with one accord they believed that God was the source of salvation and Jesus the mediator of it.

I

One cannot put one's finger upon the day or the year of the origin of the Catholic Church. It came by process rather than by fiat. There were doubtless Catholic elements and tendencies in the apostolic period,[1] yet the vitalizing and structural principle of Catholicism is not at that stage to be found. Professor Harnack, speaking of the time when primitive Christianity became ancient Catholicism, says:

> The point seems to me to occur when the apostles, prophets, and charismatic lay-teachers ceased, and their place was taken by the norm of apostolic doctrine and subjection to the authority of the apostolic episcopal office.

[1] Harnack, "Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte," p. 31, note 4.

For the Catholic Church is the church of apostolic tradition fixed as law.

Christianity began with Jesus and the brotherhood of believers. These were the original agencies of salvation. Gradually doctrines about him were put in place of Jesus,—a tendency which began with Paul. An institution with priests and officials came in place of the brotherhood of believers. The gospel became a dogma, and the brotherhood a sacramental organization. The fellowship of the saved became an institution of salvation with a domineering hierarchy and a submissive laity; faith in a personal Christ became assent to definitions of Christ; the spirit of holiness and love became ecclesiastical law and custom; the love feast became a mysterious sacrament; the admonition of brethren became the discipline of priests; heartfelt sorrow for sin became a dreary round of penitential works; fervent expectation of the coming Lord became hope of immortality; servile obedience took the place of filial service,—an astounding transformation, with immeasurable significance for the future of Christianity and of humanity. The religion of authority superseded the religion of the Spirit. The community with gospel and life became a church of doctrine and law.

The Catholic Church, in its finished form in the fourth century, was a complex of gospel, mystery, philosophy, law, and superstition,—the great compromise of history. It was a neutral Christianity, blending Jewish, Petrine, Pauline, and Johannine elements in such a way as to preserve what was common to all, and yet to lose what was distinctive of each. Pagan elements from Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome were fused with the gospel of Jesus and the

brotherhood of believers, and the outcome was an institution of dogmas, mysteries, priests, monks, and laymen. The gospel was necessarily modified when preached and taught with the aid of Greek rhetoric and in terms of Greek philosophy. Precepts of Christian conduct were taken from Greek ethics. Jewish ordinances and Roman law were put under tribute for church government, and oriental mysteries furnished new meaning to Christian sacraments. Pagan superstitions became current Christian customs; saints, relics, holy water, and vestments were given divine sanction.

The original freedom of the saints and the faith working in love were a thing of the past. Christians were subjects of a divine institution which professed to provide means of salvation through authorized persons, doctrines, and rules of life. Yet, while Christianity was Hellenized and Romanized, it was sufficiently powerful to retain its controlling and formative place, and its distinctive character and supremacy in the ancient world. Notwithstanding its impedimenta of dogmas and ordinances, it continued to save and sanctify, to some extent and in its own way, the men and nations of that time.

II

The ancient Catholic way of salvation was a joint product of Christian tradition, and Greek, Roman, and oriental ideas and institutions. Greek influence, however, was most powerful in the formative period of the second century. We shall consider, accordingly, the stages in the development of the apostolic and post-apostolic conception of salvation, and the pre-Christian Greek views of redemption. In the union of these two

tendencies must be found the explanation of the Catholic theory of salvation in the fourth century.

The Gentile Christians developed a view of salvation differing from that of the Jewish Christians and from that of Paul and John. They denied the necessity of the ceremonial law,—circumcision, for example,—yet they considered the gospel as a new law made known by Christ. Through its observance men were to make themselves worthy of salvation; which was a reward of merit instead of a gift of grace. They were in accord with Paul, in his conception of the universal scope of Christ's saving work, in his monotheism, in his doctrine of an incarnate heavenly being—though not in its original sense—and in the hope of eternal life. The words of Paul constantly recur in the post-apostolic writings, but in a different combination and with a different meaning. His view of salvation is nowhere to be found. The formula, "where there is forgiveness of sin, there are life and salvation," was not understood by the Greek and Roman Christians, because they did not share his experience of redemption. The assurance that Jesus receives sinners and God freely forgives merely of grace, was wholly obscured. Forgiveness was limited to sins committed before baptism, and even then it was offered on the ground that men sinned through ignorance. Now that they repented in the light of the new knowledge which they received from Christ, God esteemed them worthy of forgiveness.[2] After baptism they were not under grace but under law, and whatever sins were committed then must be atoned for by penitential works.[3] This takes the heart out of Paul's gospel of free grace.

[2] Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans. I., p. 170, note 2.
[3] "In Hermas, however, and in the second Epistle of Clement, the

Thus in the Gentile churches a species of moralism, not unlike that in Mosaism or in Greek ethics, prevailed and became a basal element in ancient Catholicism. Jesus is Lord, Lawgiver, and Judge; and with his promises he encourages obedience to the law, which will be rewarded by eternal life.

In the writings of John there is a vital relation between knowledge and eternal life. Where there is truth and knowledge, there is eternal life,—a formula far more readily understood by the Greeks than the Pauline formula in reference to forgiveness and salvation. Illustrative passages may be chosen at random. "This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ" (John 17:3). This idea becomes more and more prominent in the second century. In the epistle to Diognetus, XIII, we are told, that "God in the beginning planted a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the midst of Paradise, and showed that life is through knowledge." In the eucharistic prayer of the Didache, IX, X, thanksgiving is made "for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child." This was a form of intellectualism which was in sympathy with the Greek view of religion and life. The sum of the gospel was reduced to a revelation of the unknown God through Jesus Christ and a command to keep the new law revealed through the Son of God, who in the judgment will dispense rewards and punishment. It is significant that whenever eternal life is vitally related to knowledge of truth, the hope of the resurrection of the body

consciousness of being under grace, even after baptism, almost completely disappears behind the demand to fulfil the tasks which baptism imposes."—Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., I, p. 172.

dies out, though it may be kept in creedal formulas, but as a part of another circle of ideas.[4]

A third element became prominent in Gentile Christianity,—the Pauline idea of redemption by the transformation of man's sinful nature through the spirit of Christ. This was not only readily accepted by the Greeks, but modified by their views of salvation. Ignatius defines salvation, not by free grace or ethical atonement, but by hyperphysical deliverance from decay and death, which are assumed to be the effect of sin. In the Acts of Thomas salvation is regarded as the gift of grace which saves by transforming human nature by the impartation of the divine essence of Jesus as life or food.[5] Forgiveness falls into the background, while the idea of the infusion of a divine substance through sacramental means is looked upon with favor. The Lord's Supper is the *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*, —the charm or magic of immortality. The Deity himself is supposed to be a spiritual substance with which men may be filled and thus imbued with eternal life—a process of deification, equivalent to immortality. Here is clear evidence of the influence of Greek mysteries upon the Catholic conception of salvation.

The Christian communities of the second century were in a transition period, passing from the personal, experimental, and spiritual Christianity of the apostles to the institutional, legalistic, dogmatic, and sacramental Christianity of Catholicism. Practically all the cardinal terms and phrases are modified and given new values. Faith is turned into assent to propositions about God, Jesus Christ, and human destiny:

[4] Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., I. p. 170, note 1.
[5] Chapters 25–27, 49–52, 132, 157.

it is not personal surrender to the living Christ, serving him in love. The principal articles of the prevailing Christianity were: (1) belief in God as δεσπότης, ruler, and in the Son approved by prophecy, and in his teachings attested by the apostles; (2) discipline according to the standard of the words of the Lord; (3) baptism; (4) the common offering of prayer, culminating in the Lord's Supper; (5) the sure hope of the nearness of Christ's kingdom.[6] "When the apostolic fathers reflect upon faith, they mean a holding for true of a sum of holy traditions and obedience to them, along with the hope that their consoling content will yet be revealed." [7]

The God of Christ, who is ever present and accessible to all; who watches with a Father's love over his children and provides for them; who deeply grieves for the sins of men and patiently awaits the prodigal's return, ready to receive him just as he is; who is a God of healing and comfort, turning all things to our good,—this Christlike God is eclipsed by the Creator and Ruler of the universe, the King and Judge, who has published a new law through his Son, and will dispense judgment according to man's merits: God conceived after the analogy of an oriental monarch rather than in terms of Jesus Christ. The other conception of God, which is traceable in the New Testament, is easily laid hold of and transformed by the Greek,—God as a Spiritual substance that enters men and dwells in them: the idea of God upon which the Catholic sacraments are based. Here he is conceived of after the analogy of the absolute being of Greek philosophy. The transformation of the conception of

[6] Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans. I. p. 163–164.
[7] *Idem*, p. 172.

God must necessarily result in a new way of salvation; for it affects the notions of the motive, the method, the blessings, and the ultimate outcome of the whole process of redemption.[8] The new law, that is assumed to be the substance of the gospel, is turned into ascetic precepts far more than into the law of love; or at any rate love was to verify itself in ascetic practices.

The views of the future were by no means uniform, yet those which prevailed in the second century were widely different from those of the primitive Christians. Some still looked for an earthly kingdom to be set up by Christ at his return; others expected a blessed immortality in heaven. These two tendencies, often in conflict, run parallel for centuries. But the chiliasts, or adventists, lost ground under the influence of Greek thought. The expectation of a kingdom *from* heaven was forced to yield to the hope of a blissful immortality *in* heaven. The ardent desire for the reign of Christ upon earth gave way to the earnest prayer for rest with God on high. A scheme of last things, including heaven, hell, purgatory, immortality, the beatific vision, superseded the blessed longing for the Lord's coming and the glorious millennium. The Greek term,

[8] "That conception of God with which Greek philosophy terminated, viz., the Absolute, the Transcendant, the Indeterminable, governs unquestioned in the domain of Christian thought . . . This metaphysical conception of God prevailed in Greek theology till the Council of Chalcedon closed that epoch of constructive work. It has remained to this day in spite of the reversion to the New Testament which marked the Reformation, in spite of that destruction of dogmatism with which Kant inaugurated the modern age; and still it confuses the issues for men who have traveled far from the condition of Greek thought . . . Love and holiness, with the action and passion arising therefrom, are lacking to the Greek idea of God, and this defect makes that idea unsuited to act as the governing category of Christian soteriology."—Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. Art. "Soteriology," Kilpatrick, p. 701.

ἀθανασία, immortality, is made the equivalent of ἀφθαρσία, incorruption, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, eternal life, and they are often used interchangeably. These terms supplant the original βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, kingdom of God, which is identified either with the Catholic Church or with immortality in the heavenly world. The original hope of a millennium passed away, and in its place came an ecclesiasticism that promises eternal life in heaven.

These elements of doctrine and law have not yet become fixed dogmas or a finished institution. Everything is in process, not yet crystallized into final form. There is, however, a mental mood, a religious feeling, that is favorable to Catholic Christianity. Out of this mood came the intellectual conception of faith as assent to doctrine rather than as trust in the living God. This mood encouraged the idea that a man by free will may attain communion with God by ascetic works. This mood also favored the æsthetic form of religion, by which proof of communion with God is to be found in mystic feeling, instead of in an ethical life. Thus arose a church with an infallible revelation from God, who can make his presence felt through the senses, yet urges self-reliance if men desire abiding fellowship with him.

III

As in the Hebrew world, so in the Greek, there was a long period of preparation for the Catholic conception of salvation. The Jew waited for the kingdom of God; the Greek for the assurance of immortality, deliverance from decay and death, and a blessed life in eternity. For this end new religions were founded, old

religions were revived, philosophies were consulted, and oriental mysteries were brought to the Occident. The aim of them all was purification from sin, deliverance from death, and exaltation to immortality. The Greek was in quest of a trustworthy divine revelation, a divine law of life, and deliverance from the limitations of his present life,—in other words, he sought a way of redemption.

The Greek idea of God was the conclusion of a logical process of thought,—the absolute being or reality behind the infinite variety of phenomena, described in abstract terms without positive or personal attributes of finite being, an all-pervading spiritual substance. He was nought but pure being, "unchangeable and above all incorruptible, the direct opposite of man's nature, which is transitory, changeable, decadent, and mortal, because finite and material." [9] Access to such a God is obtained through material channels and sacramental ordinances, rather than by way of intelligent and ethical personal fellowship. Such access develops a contemplative and passive type of piety, with a strong leaning toward the ascetic life.

The Greek developed, also, a distinctive conception of sin, corresponding to the idea of God. Sin was thought of, not as guilt that needs to be atoned and forgiven, but as error and disease that need to be corrected and cured. The effect of man's sin was to separate him from God, the source of knowledge and life, somewhat as the branch is lopped off the vine. Men, therefore, wither and die, for lack of the vitality that comes from God. The Greek considered death the

[9] Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," p. 146.
The Jew thought of God as mighty and righteous will behind creation and human history, and partly revealed through both.

great evil, and immortality the great good, and was more distressed by his mortality than by his guilt. He had no thought of a redemption through a kingdom of God upon earth, but had his heart fixed on eternity, where alone he could obtain immortality.

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson in his "Greek View of Life" [10] incidentally throws an illuminating side-light upon the Greek view of sin. He contends that the Greeks never, not even in their profoundest philosophies or tragedies, distinguished, as the Christians do, between the conception of sin as a physical contagion to be cured by external rites and the conception of it as an affection of the conscience which only "grace" can expel. The stain of sin "was conceived to be rather physical than moral, analogous to disease both in its character and in the methods of its cure. . . . And as was the evil, so was the remedy. External acts and observances might cleanse and purge away what was regarded as an external affection of the soul."

The Greeks as naturally fitted Jesus and his gospel into their pre-Christian conception of religion and salvation as did the Jews into their messianic prophecies. The latter saw in Jesus the Messiah who came to fulfil prophecy and establish the Messianic kingdom; the former saw in him the Logos who delivered men from death by imparting life eternal through doctrine, law, and mystery.

The Greek Christian way of redemption was the result of a blend of early Christian and Greek ideas. Consistently with the view that the result of sin was separation of man from God, the source of light and life, redemption was possible only through the reunion of God and man, the restoration of the original fellow-

[10] Pp. 22, 23.

ship between the divine and the human. This was effected through the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus. A Greek Father once said: "The idea of God becoming man, is what is new in the new, nay, is the only new thing under the sun." In the Catechism of Cyril (4, c. 9), we are told, "If the ἐνανθρώπησις, the God-man, is a phantom, then, also, is salvation a phantasm." For man can be delivered from sin and death only when he is brought into organic union with God,—such a union of the divine and the human natures as we have in Jesus. The substance of the divine life is infused into human nature; man is deified and is endued with life immortal. This is the mystery of redemption realized in Jesus, in whom the grace and truth of God are made manifest.

In the writings of Paul and John these blessings are personal qualities, and spiritual gifts appropriated by faith. The gospel, in its appeal to reason and conscience, begets a life of faith, working in love. In the writings of the Fathers grace is turned into hyperphysical substance, conveyed in portions through sacramental channels, and truth is resolved into metaphysical statements, passing all understanding, to be received with implicit faith as a heavenly mystery. Thus, by a process of transformation, salvation by grace through faith came to mean the deification of man's mortal nature by a pharmacological infusion of the substance of the Logos, incarnate through the mysteries of the Church.

How could the blessing of redemption be appropriated by the individual? The believer had access to God, no longer through Christ in the Spirit, but through the Church, which was in Christ's stead. Grace and truth, once held in solution in the Christian

consciousness and communicated by word and life, were precipitated in dogma, law, and mystery in control of the priests. Only through their ministry could men become partakers of salvation; for the priests were the divinely authorized guardians of truth, the administrators of discipline, and the dispensers of grace. The original democratic theocracy of believers was transformed into an aristocracy of bishops; the brotherhood of saints became an institution with clergy and laity; the religion of the Spirit became a religion of authority.

IV

In three ways men were to appropriate salvation,—through the intellect, the will, and the feelings; in other words, through dogma, morals, and mysteries,—these three, but the greatest of these is the mysteries.[11]

1. At first the gospel was proclaimed as good news which men believed; and their faith worked in love,—a religious and ethical appropriation of salvation. But later the gospel was resolved into a body of doctrine about God, Christ, and man, which was accepted upon the authority of the Church.[12] Doctrine was held

[11] Speaking of the pre-Christian Greek, of the philosophers from Socrates to Plotinus, and the way of deliverance from the transitory world, Pfleiderer in his "Philosophy and Development of Religion" (Eng. trans., I. p. 240–1) says: "Redemption from it and union with the world beyond—the world of purely spiritual and divine life—had become the goal of man's longing, which he sought to approach by all the ways available to him,—theoretically, through the abstraction of thinking; practically, through the desensualizing of the will; and mystically, through ecstasy of feeling."

[12] "The greatness of the earliest form of Christianity was in two realities—Jesus and the community which attached itself to Him. . . . But in the Pauline churches the place of the person of Jesus is occupied by statements concerning the Son of God, the Cross and the Resurrection, which are accepted in faith. Where Jesus stood before, there now stands the dogma of Christ. The social

apart from life,—the besetting sin of orthodoxy. Faith ceased to be trust in a living God and became assent to propositions. The creed was not the fruit of personal experience and the product of conduct: it was a divinely revealed body of truth entrusted to the central church at Rome for safe-keeping and promulgation. "The tradition is derived from the apostles of the exceeding great and ancient and universally known church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles—Peter and Paul . . . for it is a necessary thing that every church should agree with this church on account of its preëminent authority." [13] Human ideas about God's nature were put in place of God's acts in history, and acceptance of these ideas was enforced by legal coercion. Tertullian exclaimed: "I have believed what I was bound to believe." The disastrous mistake was made of confusing theology and religion, of resolving faith in a person into formal assent to a creed. Where Jesus once stood, there stands the dogma of Christ; and where was the fellowship of brethren, there came the sacramental mystery. The prominence given to dogma and sacrament, instead of to the historical life of Jesus and the brotherhood of believers, was the beginning of Catholic Christianity.

2. It was never forgotten that the gospel was law [14]

element finds its expression in the Sacraments, in which it is believed the present activity of Jesus is experienced. Dogmas and Sacraments therefore have ousted Jesus and the community."—Wernle, "Beginnings of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. pp. 344, 345.

[13] Irenæus, "Adv. Haer." III. 3, 2; IV. 33, 8.

[14] From the beginning there is a difference of emphasis in Paul and Jesus. Jesus gives prominence to the moral claim, to doing God's will. The danger was legalism. Paul laid stress primarily on grace and atonement and man's faith. Here there was danger of laxness of morals and of neglecting the ethical appeal. Both extremes can be avoided only where men live as children of God

as well as knowledge; that Christianity was conduct as well as creed. But in apostolic times obedience was the spontaneous product of faith: the law was fulfilled in love. Conduct was the fruit of salvation. In the Catholic stage the precepts of the gospel were turned into laws enforced upon the members of the Church without vital relation to faith. Once Christian morality was the spontaneous result of salvation; now it is a condition and a means of salvation. "For God has given us a law and holy commandments; and every one who keeps these can be saved." [15] This is the essence of moralism. Both the motive and the content of Christian living are changed. Filial obedience becomes servile submission. Sons work for love, but servants for wages.

The early Christians renounced the world, and lived sober, righteous, and godly lives; either because they expected the speedy end of the present order and the advent of a heavenly kingdom, or because as sons of God they strove to realize the perfection of the Father in heaven exemplified in the life of Jesus. They set their affections on things above and lived the eternal life in time.

On Greek soil, where the messianic hope played a negligible part as a motive, renunciation of the world was rooted in pagan dualism. The contrast was not between the present and the future, but between the material and the spiritual. Matter is essentially evil, and can never be reconciled with spirit. Man is by nature carnal, but has in his soul a celestial spark, which seeks to be free from the fetters of the flesh and

in the love of God. See Wernle, "Beginnings of Christianity," Eng. trans.,, I. p. 349.

[15] Theophilus, "Ad Autolycum," II. p. 27.

the bondage of the world. The supreme moral motive constrains men to escape contact with matter and to mortify the flesh. This is at least one of the means of salvation. It ends, in its negative form, in the ascetic life,—the renunciation of sex, food, and property,—and in its positive form, in prayer, almsgiving, and contemplative expectation of the ecstatic vision of God. The advent saint, with his heroic self-denial and his holy indifference to the world, became the Catholic monk, with his contempt for the world and his absorption in God. Renunciation of the world by escaping from the tyranny of matter and sense is the only ideal of life and of perfection that is left.

3. As viewed by the Greek, redemption could be obtained not alone by knowledge, *i.e.*, dogmas, nor by deeds, *i.e.*, morals. These had largely preparatory value. If salvation is personal deification by a hyperphysical infusion of the substance of deity, something more palpable is required than doctrine and precept, stimulating intellect and will. "Without mysteries a religion even of inwardness and goodness was then unthinkable. Men wished, yes, had to experience the Deity in sensuous forms." [16] Such means were in use in the oriental mysteries [17] and were appropriated by

[16] Weinel, "Die urchristliche und die heutige Mission," p. 49.

[17] "The important fact is that the mystical and 'enthusiastic' explanation of the world was never without its apostles in Greece." Gilbert Murray, "Literature of Ancient Greece," p. 68. Even Plato allows room for it in a passage in his Phædrus, 244 (Jowett's translation): "There is a madness which is the special gift of heaven, and the source of the chiefest blessing among men. For prophecy is a madness, and the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona, when out of their senses have conferred great benefits on Hellas, but when in their senses few or none . . . And in proportion as prophecy is higher and more perfect than divination, both in name and reality, in the same proportion, as the ancients testify, is madness superior to a sane mind, for the one is only of human, the other of divine origin."

the Catholic ritual. By sacred symbols and transactions the divine life is infused into human nature, which is thus transformed by an act of God, and not by human effort. Even creeds tend to become sacramental, imparting to the believer the miraculous power of the mystery which they define in words. The recipient remains passive while he is filled with the fulness of God.[18]

Two Christian rites—baptism and the Lord's Supper—were readily turned into Sacramental mysteries. The one was the sacrament of initiation, the other of sustentation; both tangible media by which the blessings of redemption were conveyed to men. The earlier conception of the sacraments as symbols, and perhaps also as bearers, of the forgiveness of sin fell into the background. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were turned into mysteries which "save" (I Peter 3:21), and which protect and preserve men "unto the day of redemption" (Ephesians 4:30; Revelation 7:2; 9:4). In baptism the new birth is symbolized by a dying and a rising again. It is the bath of regeneration. An implanting into Christ takes place while the convert passes through the water; he comes out a citizen of heaven.[19] Justin Martyr says: "They are brought

[18] Speaking of the pre-Christian mysteries which were introduced into Greece, those of Attis, of Isis, and of Mithra, Farnell says: "In most of these the records allow us to discover many interesting ideas that reappear in Catholic Christianity; such, for instance, as community with the divinity through sacrament, the mystic death and rebirth of the catechumen, the saving efficacy of baptism and purification. These rites could satisfy the craving of the mortal to attain to the conviction of immortality and to the ecstatic consciousness of complete or temporary self-absorption in God." "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Greek Religion," VI. pp. 422–423.

[19] See Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. pp. 482–488.

by us to where there is water, and are born again." [20] Ignatius speaks of the Supper as the "saving means of incorruptibility," or "the medicine of immortality and the antidote to prevent dying." [21]

Irenæus says:

> For as the bread which is produced from the earth when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so, also, our bodies, when they receive the eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of resurrection unto eternity.[22]

The ancient Fathers generally accept the Lord's Supper as the mystery of *personal* deification which was needed to supplement the mystical theory of a *general* deification of mankind through the incarnation. The Spirit of God descended upon Christians even in ordinary meetings, and manifested his presence by mysterious and miraculous phenomena. The believer was sure that God in a mystical way changed his nature, brought him into close communion with Christ, and allowed him to appropriate the benefits of his work in visible and tangible forms. This theory of salvation was native to pagan soil, and displaced the moral and spiritual views of the early Christians. Eternity was brought palpably near. The sacramental idea pervaded everything. Symbols of divine realities multiplied, and men lived again in an atmosphere of miracle and mystery as they did in pentecostal days, but in a different sense.

The mystery, however, was not without moral requirements. The novice preparing for initiation into

[20] "Apology," I. p. 61.
[21] "Ep. to Ephesians," 20.
[22] "Adv. Haer.," IV. 18:5.

the church was put under a long discipline, examination of motives, and moral instruction. Sincere sorrow for past sins and a firm resolve "to do what the Lord wills" were conditions of regeneration through baptism. Many examples of devout Christian living may be cited from the ancient Catholic period.[23] But the increasing stress on rites and ceremonies, and the recrudescence of popular paganism in the congregations of the fourth century, weakened the emphasis on moral living, and turned Christianity into a religion of cult and mystery with a ceremonial, far more than an ethical, piety. The Church was no longer primarily concerned about the holiness of its members in the midst of a sinful world, but spent its energies in the maintenance of dogmatic unity and political and world-conquering purposes.

In this scheme of salvation the death of Christ holds a subordinate place. Kilpatrick says:

> Athanasius is able to give a real place in redemption to the death and resurrection of Christ, but it is not the place assigned to them in the New Testament. It is still the question of deliverance from mortality with which he is dealing. In the death of Christ the law of death is abrogated, and in the resurrection of Christ incorruption is guaranteed.[24]

The cardinal and formative fact is the incarnation, through which there is at-one-ment between God and man. It is easy to see how the Logos incarnate could be a teacher, an example, or a vital principle transforming human nature; but what the effect of his death may be, is more difficult to say. Yet the cruci-

[23] Wernle, "Beginnings of Christianity," I. p. 345; Neander, "Memorials of Christian Life," p. 59.
[24] Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 705.

fixion is written too large in the New Testament, and makes too strong an appeal to the Christian conscience, to be ignored. Some place must be made for it even in the theology of the incarnation.

Origen expounded at length a theory of Christ's death. It was viewed both as a propitiation for sin, and as the payment of a ransom to Satan in order that his dominion over men may be ended.[25] Similar views were held by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Valentinus.[26] Augustine, later, held that the devil had certain rights over sinful men, but that he forfeited them when he killed Christ. Therefore, those who believe in Christ are freed from the power of the devil, for over Christ the devil had no right. In addition to this view, he speaks of Christ's death in a forensic sense, but, like Tertullian, without constructing a satisfactory theory.

According to Greek Catholicism, where the incarnation is central, Jesus was born that men might become sons of God; in Roman Catholicism, where the crucifixion is central, Jesus died that men might become sons of God. Furthermore, the theory of salvation controlled the doctrine of the person of Christ. Soteriology was the basis of christology. Since man's redemption from sin was effected through the union of God with man, through the communication of the life of God to dying man, the Savior must be both God and man, *vere deus* and *vere homo;* for only in this

[25] "Another issue of the exaggerated doctrine of the devil is seen in the typical patristic theory from Irenæus onwards, touching the death of Christ as a ransom for sin-enslaved men, which was largely occasioned by the loss of the true key to certain Biblical phrases, especially Paul's touching the claims of the law as needing to be satisfied ere God could be 'just' in justifying and saving men." Bartlett and Carlyle, "Christianity in History," p. 202.

[26] Harnack, "Dogmengeschichte," I. p. 635.

way is a real union and redemption actually accomplished. Upon the essential deity and humanity of Jesus, depended the character of Christianity as a religion of salvation. Arianism would have reduced it to a system of ethical culture, either as a Jewish sect or as a Greek school of philosophy and morals.

Western Catholicism accepted the terms of Greek christology, but gave it different meaning. It laid primary emphasis on the crucifixion as satisfaction, atonement, for the sins of men. Sin was thought of as guilt, not as disease; guilt to be atoned, not disease to be cured. But, according to Anselm, who furnished in the West the classic exposition of the atonement, the answer to the question, *Cur deus homo?* was, that such satisfaction can be made only by one who is both God and man. He must be true man, because the same human nature which has sinned must make satisfaction for sin. He must be true God, "that by the power of his Godhead he might bear, in his manhood, the burden of God's wrath, and so obtain for and restore to us righteousness and life." [27] Clearly here are two wholly different motives for the two natures of Christ, and yet both are rooted in an experience of salvation. In answer to the question, *Cur deus homo?* Irenæus said: "God became man that we might become sons of God," *i.e.*, by an imparting of the divine life to mortal man; Anselm said, God became man to make satisfaction for man's guilt and thus enable God to restore man to divine favor.[28]

We may well pause to ask whether the Greek or the Latin reason for the necessity of the incarnation

[27] Heidelberg Catechism, Questions 16 and 17.
[28] "Cur Deus Homo," Deane's trans., p. 246, Religion of Science Library, No. 54.

of the Logos satisfies either the New Testament or the Christian consciousness. The theories of atonement of Irenæus and of Anselm were serious attempts to account for the experience of salvation which men had with Christ and in his Church; but after all no theory is quite adequate to explain this supreme fact of human life. Perchance God became man that Jesus might show us the Father,—him whom Philip asked to see. When men behold him in the face and the life, in the words, the deeds, and the death of Jesus, they will arise and go unto him. Then they are saved,—saved by infinite grace casting its arms around the hopeless sinner.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORTHODOX CATHOLIC WAY

Orthodox Catholicism and Roman Catholicism are rooted in the subsoil of ancient Catholicism. They have the same heritage and yet differ in spirit and method, especially in the way of salvation. They have in common the trinitarian theology, the two-nature christology, clergy and laity, priests and bishops, abbots and monks, sacraments and masses, virgin and saints, images and relics, sacred days and seasons. The Church, the divinely ordained institution, is mediator between God and the soul. Only through it can man find access to God and obtain salvation. To the casual observer, the *filioque* and the pope excepted, they are as much alike as two peas in a pod.

Notwithstanding these resemblances the two churches differ widely in spirit and method. Orthodoxy is controlled by the Greek genius and the mystical conception of salvation; Roman Catholicism by the Latin genius and the juridical conception of salvation. The one professes to deliver men from ignorance, error, mortality, and the limitations of matter; the other, from original sin, hell, and purgatory. For the Orthodox Catholic mortality is the greatest evil, and eternal life the supreme good. Only the essence of God in the flesh, the incarnation of the Logos, can counteract the principle of decay and death (φθορά), and endue men with saving light and

life. Thus the doctrine of the incarnation, the divine-human Christ, was an outgrowth of the Greek conception of sin and redemption. Both an illuminating and an energizing power emanates from him into men, and this blessing is perpetuated through the centuries in the dogmas and mysteries of the Church. But even dogma has receded into the background, and the chief interest is found in the mysteries.

The Orthodox Church has now become primarily an institution of worship,—no longer of dogma or of deed. The dogma is volatilized and visualized in the ritual.[1] The symbol of faith is incorporated in the cultus, read on Sundays from the most holy place and in the most solemn service of the mass, as one of many incomprehensible mysteries. "All that Christ can do for the soul is done in the Eucharist. It is the medicine of immortality, the instrument of deification. Rapt in spirit before the altar, severed from all things of sense, in deep emotion beyond all processes of reason, almost above consciousness of self, the soul tastes salvation and almost enjoys the beatific vision, which will one day, in a moment, admit him to the immortal life and give him the object of his passionate aspiration—participation in the divine nature." [2] The original meaning of the essential doctrines was lost sight of.

[1] A similar development is found in the religion of Israel. Professor H. I. Holtzmann says: "Thus the post-exilic Judaism, at least since the days of the Maccabees, became out and out (ganz und gar) a nation (under) of the Law; authority, tradition, institution, liturgy, ritual, dominate the religion and the ethical life." "N. T. Theologie," I. p. 27. This was precisely the result when the religion of Jesus was transformed into ancient Catholicism. It seems a law of religious history that the prophetic spirit of the founder is superseded by the legalistic spirit of the followers who no longer share in the personal experience of their leader.

[2] Kilpatrick, Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 705.

The oriental Catholic became weary of theological controversies and hair-splitting distinctions, and resolved no more to speculate, but permitted himself only to contemplate divine truths.

Professor Glubokovsky supports this view when he says:

> Orthodox Christianity manifests itself not as a doctrine, but as a life of mystic communion with God in Christ, and of restoration of the grace of the Holy Spirit in the entire brotherhood of the faithful. . . . That is why in Orthodoxy are so predominant the sacraments of grace which embrace the whole existence of man in every respect. They are not an outward symbol, not a ritual accessory, but an indispensable element of the vivifying power of Christianity itself which is assured by hierarchical priesthood in direct succession of the Lord Savior.[3]

The incarnation, death, and resurrection of the God-man and the trinity of the Godhead are presented in ritualistic symbolism, the benefits of which are obtained by mystical absorption, rather than by logical thought. Man has no other communion with God than to behold him in the sacred drama of the ritual, no other fellowship with him than to enjoy him in vision. The powers of salvation are mediated through sacraments, ordinances, and through hundreds of formulas small and great. The mystical operation of baptism is described by Leonid Turkevich (*Constructive Quarterly,* September, 1919, p. 499):

> When at Baptism the child is brought under the beneficent yoke of Christ, he who was the child of the wrath of God is torn away from the power of the devil, is freed from the ancient rudiments of the world, from subjection to vanity, Satan, decay, and is admitted into the heavenly

[3] The *Constructive Quarterly,* June, 1913, p. 302.

kingdom, a spiritual creature after the image of Him that created him (Col. 3:10). In baptism, new, radiant, and pure elements take possession of the newly-baptized one; a guardian angel watches over him; he is grafted as a branch with the One Fruitful Vine, Christ (John 15:5); he is introduced into the sphere of faith, hope and charity, and becomes a son and heir of the kingdom of God through Christ; he can grow in this new sphere, ultimately earning perfect bliss with all those who have pleased God" (Matthew 25:34).

The place of the priest in the process of redemption is clearly shown by Professor Glubokovsky:

> For it is the Orthodox conviction that the mediation of a divinely established priesthood is necessary to the Christian renewal of our entire being and order. In the work of regeneration Christianity binds each of us indissolubly to the Divine Redeemer, and through Him, as the Only Begotten Son of God, establishes our Sonship to God the Father, so that, becoming children of God through grace, believers became indeed brothers."—*Constructive Quarterly*, March, 1917, pp. 77-78.

Signs, pictures, sacred acts punctiliously performed, are means of grace, and prepare the devotee for eternal life. In this way men undergo θεοποίησις, deification. The house of worship, its ornaments, sanctuaries, altar, icons, candles, priestly vestments, singing of the choir, the liturgy with all its minor details, reaching a climax in the mass—all are parts of worship by which the believer feels himself transported into heavenly places and obtains foretastes of celestial bliss. Nothing, we are assured, so well satisfies the religious feelings of the Russian *moujik* as the sacred icon, in which the spiritual is fused with the material, and the heavenly becomes visible in the earthly. The miraculous power of the saint is operative in his icon.

With such relics of saints [of the Virgin and the blessed Saints] the Church consecrates its buildings, its altars, the altar antirmins, using them as a physical link with the spiritual properties of the departed Saint, which bestow consecration on our bodies and our souls. . . . The spirit of Orthodoxy lends sacredness to these images—sacred in destination and use—in such a potent way that truly a miracle-working power is bestowed on them—the power of grace working through them and emanating from them.—Leonid Turkevich, Art. "The Spirit of the Orthodox Church Service," *Constructive Quarterly*, v. 7, No. 3, p. 504.

In a conversation with Professor Simpson (1915) a Russian friend said: "I do not know if St. Metrophanes actually did this or that, or whether any proportion of the stories of St. Seraphim are true, but I do know that in the Russia of to-day there is a great belief that God is working in the world both through his servants who still remain and through those whom he has taken to himself." The Russian Christian has an attitude of expectancy, a naïve sense of wonder, always believing that God is working in a miraculous way in his own life and the life of the nation.[4]

The contrast of Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism throws light on each. Orthodox worship is sacramental and representational; Roman worship is sacrificial and propitiatory. The aim of the former is the deification of man by the enduement of his nature with

[4] The metaphysical background for the mystical conception of worship was furnished by the speculations of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), whose writings date about 500 A.D. He brought the earthly cultus into close connection with the system of super-terrestrial forces which were set forth in theological metaphysics. The terrestrial hierarchy was assumed to be the organ (counterpart) of a celestial hierarchy for the transference of heavenly powers to the mortal nature of man. Even the word orthodoxy was changed so as to mean, not conformity to doctrine, but submission to the enactments of the Church, especially in matters of worship.

divine life through the ritual; the aim of the latter is to placate God through sacrifice and to win merit for the worshiper, that he may become righteous before God. Even the motives for asceticism in the two churches correspond to these views of worship. In Orthodoxy the aim of asceticism is to purify a man and prepare him for receiving divine life; in Roman Catholicism it is intended to satisfy God and to make men worthy of divine favor. The appeal of Orthodoxy is to the phantasy and feelings; that of Roman Catholicism is to the will in the way of doing penance and of bringing the world itself under control of the Church.

The redemptive idea of Orthodoxy accounts for its indifference to secular, or civil, power. It has no ambition for the control of empires and kingdoms on earth. Its only aim is to deliver man from this perishable world, and to exalt him to immortal life in the world above. One looks in vain for a program for the transformation of the state into a City of God—*civitas dei.* It seeks only protection from the government as long as its administrators are orthodox,—so that it may perform without hindrance its religious functions. Its highest political ideal is a universal empire which would permit and encourage the church to fulfil its mission of salvation. For lack of a universal *imperium,* the church is content to be under the fostering care of nation states, the different national churches finding their unity not in a visible head, but in a common creed, the Nicene, and a common liturgy, the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom or of St. Basil.

Again, a comparison of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism on this point is illuminating. Both believe in an other-worldly redemption, exaltation to

blissful immortality. Roman Catholicism, however, went further in its claim. It accepted Augustine's program of a City of God on earth, the nations controlled by God through the Catholic Church. With the Rule of St. Benedict in one hand and St. Augustine's City of God in the other, the Church of Rome demanded, in the name of the Lord, that the individual renounce the world, and that the institution conquer the world. Doors and windows were thrown wide open toward imperial Rome, whose spirit of conquest and dominion entered the Holy City and inspired the saints to establish the kingdom of God upon earth. Roman Catholicism may be compared to an ellipse with two foci, the one representing the blessings of redemption in the world to come; the other, the rule of God over the nations through the Roman Catholic Church. Greek Catholicism is more like a circle, with its center representing redemption in the world beyond,—only that and nothing more. Yet this difference in purpose accounts for the wide divergence of Orthodoxy in method and spirit, though Catholic, from Roman Catholicism. The two churches differ somewhat as the Greek philosopher and the Roman emperor, the one laying aside his cloak and the other his scepter, but each in his own spirit and way taking up the cross of Christ.

The way of salvation of Orthodoxy deeply influences the life and the piety of its adherents. The emphasis on the mystical impartation of salvation through the sacraments magnifies the metaphysical, and minimizes the ethical, factors in religion. Its primary motive in living, as in government and worship, is to prepare men for the other world. It is usually attended by a deep-seated pessimism in regard to this world. "Be-

hold the perfect Christian," cried a Russian, as he stood before an image of a crucified monk. The monk, bearing the whole yoke of Christ, represents the highest ideal of Christian living. "He alone can direct his soul, in entire withdrawal from sense, upon the divine, so as to obtain the vision of it and become one with it." The layman is a Christian of a lower degree. He continues to live in the social order, and observes only the necessary precepts of Christ, prescribed in the moral law and ceremonial commandments, and requiring only partial asceticism. The youth are taught the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Beatitudes. Warning is given that men are judged according to their deeds. In this way moral endeavor is at least to some extent encouraged. But the tendency is far more toward a ritualistic than an ethical piety. Besides the Decalogue, "nine principal commandments of the Church" are taught:—these relate to the observance of festivals and fasts, the honoring of the clergy, the necessity of annual confession, the shunning of heretical literature, and the solemnizing of marriage on appropriate days. Innumerable ecclesiastical customs have grown up in the course of centuries, which have the authority of law, but burden more than inspire Christian living. The sole purpose of keeping the moral law and of observing the ritual is to prepare the soul, through the sacraments, for the reception of ἀφθαρσία,—incorruptibility, or ἀθανασία,—immortality.

Withal a desponding melancholia has settled upon the Orthodox Christian of the Orient, so far as his creed is reflected in his mood. From this world he expects nothing: he is, therefore, prepared for the worst and resigned to his fate. The passive virtues,

through centuries of suffering and submission, are highly developed. Pity is shown everywhere to "the partners of sorrow," as Marcion in the second century already called his fellows in the faith. Into this enveloping gloom, which paralyzes thought and action, the church with her hope of a blissful immortality casts a ray of light, which illuminates but a narrow way for the pilgrim heavenward; while to the right and left there is the blackness of darkness.

Of this type of Christianity, Professor Glubokovsky says:

> Orthodoxy is the authentic and primitive Christianity of our Lord Savior and of his apostles. Orthodoxy successively preserves and holds it, adapting it and developing it amid various historical conditions. It results therefrom, that in its inward trust, Orthodoxy thinks itself as Christianity in its primordial completeness and uncorrupted entirety.

These claims to original apostolicity and unperverted catholicity, the Protestant historian cannot permit to go unchallenged. He feels that it is a far cry from the Nazarene, preaching on the Palestinian mount, to Constantine, in his imperial robes at Nicea. Under the influence of Greek philosophy, oriental mysteries, Jewish and Roman law, and vulgar paganism, the simple gospel and the brotherhood of believers underwent a profound change, a reversion rather to a lower plane, than an advance to a higher plane, of the religion of Jesus and the apostles. Professor Harnack says:

> In its external form as a whole this Church [the Orthodox] is nothing more than a continuation of the history of Greek religion under the alien influence of Christianity. . . .

It takes the form, not of a Christian product in a Greek dress, but of a Greek product in a Christian dress.[5]

Clearly in the Orthodox system of salvation little room is made for the historical Jesus,—his words and his works. The appeal is not made to the will of man, but all interest centers on man's nature and God's entrance into it. Of far more value than his historical life, is the constitution of Christ's person, through which the essence of Deity is infused into corruptible human nature. The Logos is in Jesus as the Spirit is in the sacraments: these are human and material vessels for the conveyance of divine powers. The desire for forgiveness, for personal relation to the living God through the mediator, Jesus Christ, plays a minor part in the religious life of Oriental Orthodoxy.

[5] "What is Christianity?" Eng. trans., p. 221.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC WAY

The Roman Catholic Church has its own distinctive way of salvation. It shares many things with Orthodox Catholicism, yet, under the influence of the Roman spirit in the West, it developed a genius of its own. The difference between the two churches, each bearing the name "Catholic," is expressed on the one hand by the title "Orthodox," and on the other by the term "Roman." "Roman," however, came more and more to be identified with "papal."

I

The idea of God held by the Latin Christians was different from that of the Greeks. The Romans were not philosophers, and found little interest in metaphysical speculations. They were by nature lawmakers and governors, and produced "not metaphysics but jurisprudence"; and from that point of view they interpreted man's relation to God. They thought of God, not as an "essence," or a changeless, incorruptible, spiritual, substance; but as a superman, a transcendent person who is Creator and Father, King and Judge.[1]

[1] Kilpatrick says: "While the idea of God, in formal Latin orthodoxy, is the Greek Absolute, taken over without revision, this empty notion is filled with contents derived from the person and authority of the Roman emperor . . .

"That, moreover, which goes with the Greek idea of God—the conception, namely, of a salvation which consists in deification and

He was not, however, the Father of grace and providence revealed by Jesus, nigh to all and accessible to all, inspiring faith and love,—the God of the Prodigal Son, of the Sermon on the Mount, the Christlike God. Early in the history of the Church the sovereignty, justice, and holiness of God overshadowed the qualities of grace and truth. When they spoke of him as Father, they thought of the creator and ruler of the universe, and the sovereign and dispenser of human destiny,—the divine Emperor. The human aspects of Jesus were eclipsed by his heavenly glory: before him men stood in awe and adoration, instead of coming to him as the friend of sinners, the refuge of the weary, the elder brother.

Men's relation to God was defined in legal terms, somewhat as a contract with clearly stipulated conditions binding on both parties. The mercy of God consisted mainly in his readiness to make known to men the conditions of salvation, not in the assurance of salvation by grace through faith. The content, both doctrine and precepts, of the gospel was regarded as law: the doctrine binding the intellect; the precepts the will.

II

The modifying factors in the West were the Latin spirit and the influence of Augustine.

The Romans were naturally in sympathy with the legal elements in Paul and the legal tendency in the Gentile Christian churches, among whom the "new law" of Christ secured a footing. A Christian

is attained in ecstasy—remains as the highest grade of religious attainment."—"Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Art. "Soteriology," XI. p. 706.

ecclesiasticism took the place of the Jewish, both being legal, ceremonial, and theological in spirit. The legalistic interpretation of Christianity was followed by the Roman Clement and the Apologists, and was given definite form for the Western Church by Tertullian and Cyprian. Of Tertullian Professor Gwatkin says: "Saint he is, and martyr; and the Christian Church is justly proud of him; yet his general conception of religion is much more heathen than Christian." [2]

Divine revelation was entrusted to officials who are authorized of God to interpret the truth and administer the law. The sacraments bind the Christian to certain duties, and infuse portions of grace into the recipient. Penance is regulated by law, like the process followed in a civil court in a suit in defense of honor. The Church is an institution of laws resembling a secular state. It took the place of the Roman Empire. The tribes of the North and West looked to papal Rome, as formerly the Mediterranean nations looked to imperial Rome. Christianity was partly Romanized, while Rome was partly Christianized.

Professor Rainy's explanation of the conditions surrounding Roman Christianity is, in effect, an apology for its legalistic character.

> With the flood of new proselytes the Church acquired a constituency which could only be dealt with on legal principles: and such principles could be applied only in the way of enjoining certain observances. That alone could be practically intelligible to the mass. The assumption followed, that when these observances were passively accepted, at least without disbelief or contradiction, they would do their work, would confer and accomplish the Christian salvation. On any other view, what must be-

[2] "Knowledge of God," II. p. 167.

come of the mass of other Christians? The theory which is implied settled on men's minds like fate. Christ has furnished us with a system of church ordinances which, if reverently complied with, do mysteriously effect salvation.[3]

The Greek idea of sin—corrupting the nature of man and ending in disease and death—did not fit into the Latin conception of God. For the Roman Christian, sin was transgression of law and offense against God. It was rooted in the will, and resulted in a sense of guilt and the wrath of God. Man's guilt had to be satisfied and atoned, before normal relations could be restored between the sinner and God. Accordingly, the controlling principle in Latin Christianity is the sacrifice on Calvary, not the incarnation by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin. The sacrificial idea is formative in the Roman Catholic way of salvation.

Besides the Latin spirit, the influence of Augustine became a modifying factor in Western Catholicism. Through his own religious experience he revived Paul's doctrines of sin and grace, guilt and justification, predestination and depravity. These doctrines had fallen into the background for centuries in the Church generally. Their revival had a vitalizing influence on Roman Catholicism, an influence which it has never wholly lost, and which helped to make it different from Eastern Orthodoxy. Augustine traced all his sorrows, weakness, and sensuality to the tap-root of sin, which is in essence Godlessness,—life without God. Deliverance from the sinful condition can come about only through the operation of God's grace through Christ. By grace man becomes conscious of forgiveness, free from the bondage of the world, and inspired

[3] "The Ancient Catholic Church," p. 521.

with love for God and man. Augustine does not, however, free himself wholly from Catholic legalism and rise to the plane of Paul in his view of justification, which he considers a process that continues until all the Christian virtues are developed in life. He would have been content with the statement, "where there is moral living, there is forgiveness and blessedness." By way of contrast we cite again Luther's formula: "Where there is forgiveness, there are life and salvation." None the less a new type of piety came out of Augustine's sense of sin and grace. It was a personal and inward experience of God in Christ,—individual surrender to eternal love and a cleaving unto God. The consummation of the joy of salvation is the beatific vision by mystic contemplation. These are evangelical notes and mystical tendencies which the reformers and mystics of the future were quick to observe.

Yet, strange as it may seem, Augustine remained a loyal Catholic. He accepted without question the absolute authority of the Church, identified the Roman Catholic organization with the City of God upon earth, believed that it was better for a man to be in the Church against his will than outside of it by choice, urged that heretics and schismatics be compelled to come in, and that through the Church only can true relations with God be established.

These two tendencies in the greatest of the Latin Fathers—the personal and experimental, on the one hand, and the institutional and authoritative on the other—were never reconciled.[4] The Catholic element

[4] "In Augustine's thought we have the blending of four great influences: 1, a deep Pauline experience; 2, an experimental acquaintance with truths of Scripture; 3, the dominance of Neo-

usually prevailed, and the striving for direct relation of the individual to God was suppressed. But the great personalities of the Middle Ages and the Reformers in the sixteenth century kindled their religious fervor with sparks from Augustine. It is acknowledged that even the doctrine of grace, as formulated by the Council of Trent, though neutralized by the Confessional, clearly shows Augustinian influence.

Thus two factors—Cæsar and Augustine—have given to Roman Catholicism form and content that have made it different in its genius and life from Oriental Orthodoxy.

III

To understand the Roman Catholic way of salvation as held and taught at present, we shall have to consider the nature and purpose of the Church; for through it alone is God's saving work accomplished in men. It is not only the fundamental dogma, but the controlling principle of all dogmas, of worship, and of morality. There is said to be no definition of the Church by way of solemn judgment (*solemne judicium*). Yet there is a close approach to it in the Dogmatic Decrees of the Council of Trent[5] as follows:

The eternal Pastor and Bishop of our souls, in order to continue for all time the life-giving work of his Redemption, determined to build up the holy Church, wherein, as in the house of the living God, all who believe might be united in the bond of one faith and one charity. Wherefore, before he entered into his glory, he prayed unto the Father, not for the Apostles only, but for those also who through their

platonism; 4, the authority of the Church."—Kilpatrick in "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI, p. 707.

[5] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 256—First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ.

preaching should come to believe in him, that all might be one even as he the Son and the Father are one. As then he sent the Apostles whom he had chosen to himself from the world, as he himself had been sent by the Father: so he willed that there should ever be pastors and teachers in his Church to the end of the world. And in order that the Episcopate also might be one and undivided, and that by means of a closely united priesthood the multitude of the faithful might be kept secure in the oneness of faith and communion, he set blessed Peter over the rest of the Apostles, and fixed in him the abiding principle of this twofold unity, and its visible foundation, in the strength of which the everlasting temple should arise, and the Church in the firmness of that faith should lift her majestic front to Heaven.

In this decree the Church is symbolized by a building, or house, of which Christ is the builder; and its purpose is to perpetuate on earth his saving work. In it the faithful reside, united in the bond of one faith and one love. At the head of the ministry, the pastors and teachers, is the blessed Peter, who is succeeded by the bishops of Rome, the vicars of Christ upon earth.

Bellarmine defines the visible marks of the true Church as: (1) profession of the true faith, (2) communion of Sacraments, (3) submission to the lawful Shepherd, the Roman Pontiff. From another point of view Möhler describes the Church as "the Son of God constantly renewing and rejuvenating Himself, *i.e.*, his perpetual incarnation." In this view it is a heavenly mystery, potent with divine forces working through forms of time and space for the salvation and the sanctification of men. In the words of Philips, a Catholic historian: "The clergy is the sanctifying, teaching, and ruling Church. The laity

is the Church to be sanctified, to be taught, to be ruled."

From these statements the following definition of the *ecclesia militans* may be framed: The visible community of believers (*i.e.*, those who have the baptism and accept the doctrine of the Church), in which Christ's work of salvation is mediated to men by a divinely ordained hierarchy with the Pope at its head. The unity of the Church, its primary attribute, consists not only in uniform doctrine, but likewise in oneness of government and worship. The distinction between the visible and the invisible Church is, therefore, not tolerated; for such division would destroy the essential unity of the Church, and would take away the external guarantees of grace and truth upon which the Catholic Christian depends. "Two true irreconcilable Churches," says Canon Vaughan, "are just as repugnant as two true Gods." [6]

In the process of salvation the Church has three functions: (1) to propagate the true faith; (2) to mediate and impart holiness through sacramental and sacrificial acts; (3) to direct and control the faithful through oversight and discipline. These three correspond to the prophetic, the priestly, and the kingly prerogatives of the ministry; and are exercised only by the priests under the supervision of bishops, who themselves have authority only from the Pope.

IV

The functions themselves presuppose certain definite views of the effect of sin upon man, of the way of justification, of faith, and of Christian piety.

[6] Rt. Rev. Mgr. Canon John Vaughan, Tract, "Is there Salvation Outside the Church?" p. 8.

Through his fall man brought upon himself the "wrath and indignation of God, and consequently death" [7] and "captivity under the power of the devil." His free will, however, was not wholly lost: merely "attenuated," and by "no means extinguished." [8] With the remnant of his natural freedom and knowledge, assisted by prevenient grace, he can prepare himself for the reception of the truth and grace of God. These he gets through the Church—the truth through Bible and dogma, and grace through sacraments. Through baptism the merit of Christ is made effective and the baptized receive "true and Christian righteousness" (*justitia originalis*). The pre-baptismal sins are forgiven; but the recipient remains under law, and not under grace.[9] Before baptism a man is under either the law of nature or the law of Moses. He will stand or fall before God according to his obedience or disobedience. Once he is in Christ through baptism, he is still under law; but it is now the *new law of Christ,* variously designated by the Council of Trent as *lex Christi, lex nova, lex fidei, lex libertatis, lex gratiae, lex evangelica,* but always *lex*—law. Christ is significantly called *legislator,* the lawgiver. The contrast, in Roman Catholicism, is not between grace and works, but between grace and nature. Man is in a state of nature and, of course, under law; but instead of passing, after baptism, into

[7] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 84, Decree concerning Original Sin.

[8] *Idem,* II. p. 89, Decree on Justification.

[9] The Christian life after baptism consists in fulfilling the new law of Christ (*καινὸς νόμος, nova lex*). Möhler says: "Through entrance into communion with Christ, only the sins committed before baptism are forgiven, not the coming (those after baptism), in the supposition, that now Christ fulfils the law in us and we in Him."—"Symbolik," 6. A., p. 231.

a state of grace out of the state of law, he remains in the state of nature, with a defective reason and will. God by revelation supplements his reason, that he may obtain saving truth; and by grace strengthens his will, so that he may attain saving virtue. Thus, by coöperating with God in his Church, he becomes righteous, and worthy of eternal life.

In adults, the beginning of the said Justification is to be derived from the prevenient grace of God, through Jesus Christ, that is to say, from his vocation, whereby, without any merits existing on their parts, they are called; that so they, who by sins were alienated from God, may be disposed, through his quickening and assisting grace, to convert themselves to their own justification, by freely assenting to and coöperating with that said grace.[10]

Justification is, therefore, a lifelong process; not an act of God (*actus forensis seu judicialis*) at the beginning of the Christian life, followed by gradual sanctification. "They, through the observance of the commandments of God and of the Church, faith coöperating with good works, increase in that justice which they have received through the grace of Christ, and are still further justified." [11] Justification, therefore, is partly of divine grace, and partly of man's works; in other words, man saves himself with the assistance of truth and grace offered by the Church.

The relation of the divine and the human factors in justification is thus defined by the Council of Trent: [12]

And, for this cause, life eternal is to be proposed to those working well *unto the end,* and hoping in God, both as a

[10] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 92, Chap. V.
[11] *Idem,* p. 99. . . .
[12] *Idem,* pp. 107, 108, Decree on Justification, Chap. XVI.

grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward which is according to the promise of God himself, to be faithfully rendered to their good works and merits.

For, whereas Jesus Christ himself continually infuses his virtue into the said justified,—as the head into the members, and the vine into the branches,—and this virtue always precedes and accompanies and follows their good works, which without it could not in any wise be pleasing and meritorious before God,—we must believe nothing further is wanting to the justified, to prevent their being accounted to have, by those very works which have been done in God, fully satisfied the divine law according to the state of this life, and to have truly merited eternal life, to be obtained also in its (due) time, if so be, however, that they depart in grace: . . . Thus, neither is our own justice established as our own as from ourselves; nor is the justice of God ignored or repudiated: for that justice which is called ours, because that we are justified from its being inherent in us, that same is (the justice) of God, because that it is infused into us of God, through the merit of Christ.

According to the Evangelical view man's whole being was totally corrupted by the Fall, and he is in a condition of helpless and hopeless depravity. He can neither know nor obey God. Salvation, therefore, depends wholly upon divine grace. Man is justified merely of grace without merit of his own,—an *actus forensis seu judicialis*. This is followed by the process of sanctification continuing through life. In opposition to this position, the Council of Trent adopted a Canon as follows:

If any one saith, that men are justified, either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and is

inherent in them; or even that the grace, whereby we are justified, is only the favor of God: let him be anathema.[13]

Wherefore, no one ought to flatter himself up with faith alone, fancying that by faith alone he is made an heir, and will obtain the inheritance.[14]

Roman Catholicism freely acknowledges that there is no assurance of the certainty of salvation, such as the assurance in which the Evangelicals found their chief joy. The Decrees of Trent are specific on this point, in words like these:

For even as no pious person ought to doubt of the mercy of God, of the merit of Christ, and of the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, even so each one, when he regards himself, and his own weakness and indisposition, may have fear and apprehension touching his own grace; seeing that no one can know with a certainty of faith, which can not be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God.[15]

Even more definitely are we told in chapter twelve of the same Decree:

For except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto himself.[16]

The whole life, then, of the Christian in the Church is part of the process of justification; and from that point of view the various functions of the Church and the work of its members must be interpreted. The Church is an institution of salvation, not a fellowship of the saved.

We are distinctly told in the Decree on Justification[17] that justification is not only the remission of sins, "but also the sanctification and renewal of the

[13] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 113, Decree on Justification, Canon XI.
[14] *Idem,* p. 101, Decree on Justification, Chap. XI.
[15] *Idem,* pp. 98, 99, Decree on Justification, Chap. IX.
[16] *Idem,* p. 103, Decree on Justification, Chap. XII.
[17] *Idem,* p. 94, Decree on Justification, Chap. VII.

inward man, through the voluntary reception of the grace, and of the gifts, whereby man of unjust becomes just, and of an enemy a friend, that so he may be an heir according to hope of life everlasting." The causes of justification are defined as final, efficient, meritorious, and instrumental; "the instrumental cause is the sacrament of baptism." [18]

It is significant that, in the Decrees of Trent, the Decree on Justification is followed by the Decree on the Sacraments, with the preparatory statement: "It hath seemed suitable to treat of the most holy Sacraments of the Church, through which all true justice either begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired." Justifying grace is imparted by baptism; if lost, it is repaired by penance, and is increased by confirmation, the eucharist, and the other sacraments, as they are received at various times and in different circumstances. Yet the sacraments are not the only means of grace; for those in process of justification are nourished and strengthened by good works [19] and prayers.

Good works are such as are done in accordance with the commandments of God and the commandments of the Church. The former are the Decalogue. The latter are not so clearly defined; many of the popular catechisms, however, enumerate five principal commandments, as follows: (1) Thou shalt keep the appointed church festivals; (2) Thou shalt reverently hear mass on all Sundays and Festival days; (3) Thou shalt keep the forty-day fast, the four Ember days (December 14, September 21, May 18, February 16), and abstain from meat on Friday and Saturday; (4)

[18] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 95.
[19] *Idem*, p. 116, On Justification, Canon XXVI.

Thou shalt at least once a year before a regularly ordained priest confess your sins and receive the sacrament on Easter; (5) Thou shalt not enter into wedlock on forbidden days.

The supreme virtues, however, which are necessary for sanctifying grace, are faith, hope and love. They are the "divine" virtues; because they concern man's relation to God, and are begotten in men by his grace only,—called *virtutes infusæ,* in distinction from *virtutes acquisitæ,* which may be acquired by patient continuance in well-doing, even by the natural man.[20]

For the attainment of Christian perfection, the highest ideal of Christian living, the monastic life is most favorable, yet not absolutely necessary. The Council of Trent says: "It is better and more blessed to remain in virginity than to unite in matrimony." The advantage is with the celibate, yet the higher Christian life is not denied those who live in the relations of the social order. The solitary, however, represents the highest type of the religious soul, and attains to mystic oneness with God.

Prayer, also, is regarded as a means of grace and a good work, when it is offered with good intention. It is a part of the justifying process. The intention, not the content of prayer, determines its significance. A *Pater noster* may be said for the sick, for protection in temptation, for the prosperity of the papacy or the advancement of the Jesuit Order. The times and methods of the prayers are not dogmatically fixed. Yet there are certain hours for laymen and priests generally recognized, and the keeping of them is declared to be praiseworthy. The Catechism prescribes five leading forms of prayer: (1) Making the sign of the

[20] They are *prudentia, justitia, temperantia, fortitudo.*

cross; and saying or thinking the words: "In the name of our Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen"; (2) Our Father; (3) The Ave Maria; (4) The Angelus, a modified and enlarged form of the Ave Maria; (5) The petition, with the use of the Holy Water, "Jesus cleanse me of my sins." The clergy, of course, follow the prayers prescribed in the Breviary. Special prayers are part of penance, and indulgences have been granted for certain exercises of prayer. Of more significance, however, than prayer and good works, in the process of justification and the development of the Christian life, are the Sacraments. They are seven in number, all instituted by Christ, and following with their blessings the life of man from the cradle to the grave,—righteousness begins, is nurtured, and repaired by them.

Closely related to the Catholic Sacraments is the conception of grace. According to the Protestant view, grace is the mercy of God revealed in his Son to forgive the sinner and restore him to favor. By faith men receive the divine gift once for all; nothing that men may do or say or become, after they have accepted the grace of God by faith, will make them more righteous. He who believes has everything in heaven and upon earth. Luther said: "Wer glaubt, der hat."

The Roman Catholic view resolves grace into a stream of spiritual influences, or forces, flowing upon the believer from the transcendental world. The incarnation was the beginning of these celestial currents coursing through human nature, and they continue to flow through the Sacraments of the Church. Grace is thought of as a substance rather than as a quality of a person. This conception of grace is not in harmony

with the Roman Catholic idea of God: it comes far more from the Greek Catholic idea of an all-pervading spiritual substance; which itself is traceable to the Greek philosophy and the oriental mysteries.[21]

The Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato, i.e.,* through the act performed; the efficacy is not dependent on the disposition of the priest [22] or of the recipient, not *i.e., ex opere operantis,* not the act of him performing. The benefit inheres in the Sacrament itself by virtue of God's ordinance or presence. Of course it must be administered by an authorized *minister sacramenti,* and with the *intentio faciendi quod facit ecclesia;* and the recipient must receive it worthily (*digne suscipere*), not put an obstacle in the way, but permit the Sacrament to work in him.[23] In other words, the recipient must be in a state of grace, *i.e.,* have faith, in the Roman sense of the word, and be free from pardonable sin. The Sacraments are declared to be necessary for salvation (*ad salutem necessaria*). This idea of the efficacy of the ordinances of the Church comes from ancient Catholicism. The assumption is, that when the directions of God are passively accepted, at least without contradiction, they confer and effect salvation in a mysterious way. Sacramental transactions are at once "physical and supra-rational and impersonal."

Baptism is the sacrament of initiation. Through it the recipient is brought into the fellowship of the

[21] Kilpatrick, speaking of the idea of grace in the ancient Latin Catholic Church, says: "This is conceived, in Greek fashion, as a divine substance or energy coming from above into human nature, and working there as omnipotence in the sphere of things finite." "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 707.

[22] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 122, Decree on the Sacraments, Canon XII.

[23] *Idem,* II. p. 120, Canon VI.

Church; he is translated "from that state wherein man is born a child of the first Adam to the state of grace, and of the adoption of the sons of God, through the second Adam, Jesus Christ, our Savior." [24] Through baptism the "merit of Jesus Christ is applied both to adults and to infants"; the "guilt of original sin is taken away" and the "whole of that which has the true and perfect nature of sin." [25] Not only is sin remitted, but faith, hope, and charity are infused into the heart; "for faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of his body." Men are "bidden immediately on being born again, to preserve it (true and Christian righteousness) pure and spotless,[26] as the first robe given them through Christ in lieu of that which Adam by his disobedience lost for himself, so that they may bear it before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ and may have eternal life." [27]

Experience, however, proves that men cannot constantly preserve the righteousness received in baptism; and for these God, in mercy, has bestowed a remedy, the sacrament of Penance. "This sacrament of Penance is, for those who have fallen after baptism, necessary unto salvation; as baptism itself is for those who have not as yet been regenerated." It is called a "second plank after shipwreck." [28] By means of it the

[24] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. p. 91, On Justification, Chap. IV.

[25] *Idem,* II. p. 87, On Original Sin, 5.

[26] In the ancient church "it was a general conviction that baptism effectually cancelled all past sins of the baptized person, apart altogether from the degree of moral sensitiveness on his own part; he rose from his immersion a perfectly pure and perfectly holy man."—Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," Eng. trans., I. p. 484.

[27] Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," II. pp. 96, 97, Chap. VII.

[28] *Idem,* p. 143, On Penance, Chap. II.

grace lost after baptism can be restored. The acts of the penitent are contrition, confession, and satisfaction. These are followed by absolution "for all censures and sins, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." This is not simply an announcement, or declaration, but has the authority of a "judicial act whereby sentence is pronounced by the priest as by a judge." [29] The usual satisfaction by works is made in the form of special prayer in the church, but other religious acts may be added, such as pilgrimages or special communions and fasts. Absolution becomes effective only after penance is completed. A great part of the energy of the church member is spent in penitential discipline.

The principal sacrament of nurture, or for the increase of righteousness received in baptism, is the sacrament of the Eucharist, "than which the Church has nothing more worthy, nothing more sacred, nothing more wonderful." [30] The Eucharist is so called not merely because it is a thanksgiving in memory of Christ, but because it is the bearer of *bona gratia,* good grace, "for it contains in it Christ who is true grace and fountain of all charisms."

The effect of the sacrament is "remission of sins," the impartation of "spiritual food of souls whereby may be fed and strengthened those who live with his life," "an antidote whereby we may be freed from daily faults and preserved from mortal sins," and "a pledge of our glory to come and everlasting happiness." This, with the Mass, is the center of Catholic worship, and plays the most important part in the piety of the

[29] Conc. Trent, Session 14, On Penance and Extreme Unction, Chap. VI.; Schaff, II. p. 152.

[30] "Rituale Romanum," 4. 1. Quoted by Müller, "Symbolik," p. 158.

Christian. The laity are required to commune at least once a year on Easter.

The Mass was instituted by Christ as "the new Passover himself to be immolated, under visible signs by the Church through the priests." The "same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner who once offered himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross . . . This sacrifice is truly propitiatory . . . The Lord is appeased by the oblation thereof." [31] It has efficacy both for the living and for the dead. It is chiefly a transaction before God in behalf of the people. A minister himself may celebrate Mass in the absence of the people, "not for himself only but for all the faithful who belong to the body of Christ."

The priestly and sacrificial character of Roman Catholic worship appears clearly in the Mass. It is appended to nearly every other sacrament, and is said in behalf of individuals and congregations in the various vicissitudes and crises of life. It is repeated twice every Sunday; and all Catholics of proper age, even children (for there is a children's Mass), are requested to attend. Rippel says: "The Holy Mass is our only and distinctive worship (*Gottesdienst*)." [32]

While the priestly functions, with the sacrificial and sacramental elements, are primary in the Catholic Church, there is room left, also, for the prophetic and the kingly offices, always, of course, performed by the clergy. The Council of Trent decreed that the Scriptures and the divine law are to be preached and taught at least every Sunday and on all high festivals; daily, or at least three times a week, during the Lenten

[31] Conc. Trent, Doctrine on Sacrifice of the Mass, Chap. II.; Schaff, II. p. 179.
[32] Loofs, "Symbolik," p. 357, note.

season and during the Advent season. The children in each parish are carefully instructed in the fundamental articles and in the customs and usages of the Catholic Church. Missions are conducted in the churches with the hope of winning Protestants to the Catholic faith; the preaching ability has been highly developed in these latter days.

The pastoral and disciplinary functions of the Church are performed mainly through the confessional, and the penitential system. Here the priest becomes the shepherd of souls. Books of devotion are given to the people to direct them in their private meditations and for special occasions.

It remains for us to consider the part of faith in the process of justification. The Council of Trent says: "Faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification." [33] The Protestants consider it not only the beginning, but the end, yea, as far as man is concerned, the whole, of justification. It cannot be followed by any thing greater to complete, or add to, its efficacy. Faith, in the Roman Catholic sense, is regarded as an act, beginning man's salvation, and as a "supernatural virtue" whereby "we believe that the things which He has revealed are true." Believing "assent," however, "to the gospel teaching, as is necessary to obtain salvation," is not possible "without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who gives to all men sweetness in assenting to and believing in the truth." [34] The things revealed are held to be true, not because they are written in the Scriptures, or approve themselves in Christian experience, but because they are

[33] Sixth Session, Chap. VIII.; Schaff, II. p. 97.
[34] Vat. Third Session, Chap. 3, Schaff, II. p. 244.

proclaimed by the Church. "Further, all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by solemn judgment, or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed." [34a] Submission to the doctrines and precepts of the Church is required, even to the extent of the *sacrificium intellectus,* sacrifice of the intellect; for in Catholicism one *must believe,* not simply *"may believe,"* and must render obedience of faith, *fides implicita,* which is nothing less than an unquestioned acceptance of the teaching of the Church. "We are bound to yield to God, by faith in his revelation, the full obedience of our intelligence and will." [35] Neither the reason nor the conscience of the individual is allowed to protest against the dogmas or the dictates of the Church. For the Catholic articles of faith are not convictions developing in the believer from a central object of faith, but they are doctrinal decrees promulgated by a Council or by the Pope with the authority of divine revelation and requiring unconditional acceptance.

The Christian is warned not to pry too deeply into the mysteries of the Church. The Roman Catechism says: "What is propounded in symbol must not be curiously scrutinized, but with simplicity affirmed. For a curious investigation of the truth is of moderate faith." [36] The Catechism of the Council of Trent says on this point:

From what has been said it follows that he who is gifted with this heavenly knowledge of faith, is free from an

[34a] Vat. Third Session, Chap. 3, Schaff, II. p. 244.
[35] *Idem,* p. 243.
[36] Cat. Rom. I, 2, 3.

inquisitive curiosity; for where God commands us to believe, he does not propose us to search into his divine judgments, or inquire into their reasons and causes; but demands an immutable faith, by the efficacy of which the mind reposes in the knowledge of eternal truth. . . . Faith, therefore, excludes not only all doubt, but even the desire of subjecting its truths to demonstration.[37]

The effect of faith is to bring the believer, not into personal fellowship with God in Christ, but into proper relation with the Church, which mediates between God and man. "For faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites a man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of his body." [38] By faith a man simply puts himself under the care of the Church; and under her directions and by her aid he saves himself. Hence faith is said to be "the beginning of human salvation," *humanæ salutis initium.* Schleiermacher said: "The Roman Catholic Church makes the relation of the individual to Christ depend on his relation to the Church; the Protestant makes his relation to the Church depend on his relation to Christ."

Faith is not only a subjective act, that by which we believe; but also an objective fact, that which is believed. In the decree of the Vatican Council on the Catholic Faith, third session, "The Church" is said to have received a charge to guard "the deposit of faith" (*fidei depositum*). This contains what the Christian is to believe, which in briefest form is the Triune God. In its amplified form it is the Nicene Creed, "wherein all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree as that firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall not prevail."

[37] Cat. Conc. Trent, Part I. Art. I. 4. Translation by J. Donovan.
[38] Conc. Trent, VI. Chap. VII.; Schaff, II. p. 96.

Faith in the Triune God is hindered, and at times harmed, by the secondary objects of faith, the Virgin, the saints, and relics. These are not, indeed, essential elements of Catholicism, yet through ages of custom they have become inseparably interwoven with popular piety. With the decline of that vital faith which approves itself by ethical living, in place of the living God revealed in Christ men substituted creatures of human imagination and tried to obtain divine blessings by magical ways. What cannot be obtained by direct petition, it is hoped may be reached by mediation of the Virgin and the saints.

The Council of Trent, session twenty-five, teaches: "That the saints who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers and help for obtaining benefits from God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." The invocation of saints is not commanded, but recommended. The distinction, also, between invocation and adoration—the one due to God alone, the other to the saints—is made; but in spite of it the people are prone to fall into practical polytheism, failing to grasp the refined distinction made in the dogmatic decrees of the Church.

V

This rapid survey of the function of the Church and the faith of the Christian, in the process of salvation, confirms the statement made in the beginning of this chapter, that "the Roman Catholic Church is the visible community through which the work of Christ's salvation is mediated to men." The Church is in Christ's stead among men, and continues in institu-

tional forms the redemptive effects of the incarnation.

In the words of Harnack:

> The Roman Church is the most comprehensive and the vastest, the most complicated and yet at the same time the most uniform structure which, so far as we know, history has produced. All the powers of the human mind and soul, and all the elemental forces at mankind's disposal, have had a hand in creating it.

It looms up before us as a majestic institution with the sanctions of age and universality, and claims of divine origin and authority. All humanity has been put under tribute in its growth and progress. Hebraism, Judaism, Messianism, Orientalism, Hellenism, Romanism, vulgar paganism, philosophy, mysticism, politics, art, morals, religion,—all these blend in the most perfectly organized religious institution upon earth.

We cannot all too lightly dispose of its claims, its past history, or its future program. How massive are its buildings! how wide its scope and reach, including time and eternity! Its claims are unparalleled. Its works of love are stupendous. Its art, theology, philosophy, its universities, cathedrals, and monasteries, its popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and monks, fascinate the human imagination. Its missionaries have followed the flag into the remotest regions of the earth. Its monks and priests have been vanguards in civilizing and educating savage and barbarian. We bow reverently before its heroes and saints, —Augustine, Bernard, Francis, Thomas, Dante, Vincent de Paul, Francis Xavier, Bossuet, Fénelon, Henry Newman. These are the varied product of Roman

Catholicism. No wonder this institution makes powerful appeal to men. It must be met, not with sneers or denunciations, but with an ideal of life greater, a way of salvation truer, than that which it proposes.

In its appeal to the will, through the demand for good works as a necessary part of salvation, and in the penitential system, it develops a type of personal piety and Christian manhood far in advance of Oriental Orthodoxy. The Roman Church demands from the individual renunciation of the world, and commands coöperation of the individual with the Church for the conquest of the world. Its vision of a City of God to be wrought out upon earth under the control of the Vicar of Christ sets before the Christian a task that delivers him from the mystic and passive piety of the Orthodox Catholic who has in view nought but deliverance from the world and a blissful immortality in heaven.

Yet, after we have magnified the Roman Catholic Church and by comparison have shown its superiority to the Catholicism of the Orient, we must still pause to ask whether or not its conception of salvation is true to Christ and to the deepest needs of the human soul. This question is answered by Professor Harnack in a single paragraph:

> What modifications has the gospel undergone, and how much of it is left? Well—this is not a matter that needs many words—the whole outward and visible institution of a Church claiming divine dignity has no foundation whatever in the gospel. It is a case, not of distortion, but of total perversion. . . . The gospel says, "Christ's kingdom is not of this world," but the Church has set up an earthly kingdom; Christ demands that his ministers shall not rule but serve, but here the priests govern the world; Christ leads his disciples away from political and ceremonious

religion and places every man face to face with God—God and the soul, the soul and its God, but here, on the contrary, man is bound to an earthly institution with chains that cannot be broken, and he must obey; it is only when he obeys that he approaches God. There was a time when Roman Christians shed their blood because they refused to do worship to Cæsar, and rejected religion of the political kind; to-day they do not, indeed, actually pray to an earthly ruler, but they have subjected their souls to the despotic orders of the Roman papal King.[39]

There is an intolerable dualism in Roman Catholicism, the necessary result of its conception of God and the way of salvation. The tension between the Church and the State, the spiritual and the secular power, the monarchial claims of the papacy and the spirit of nationalism, was bound sooner or later to reach the breaking point and end in rupture. The rivalry between the regular clergy, archbishops, bishops and priests, on the one hand, and the extraordinary ministry of papal legates and monks, invading diocese and parish of bishop and priest, on the other hand, bred bitterness and strife, and undermined hierarchical authority as a whole.

The opposition between the dogmatic decrees of the Church and the awakening human reason, between priestly authority and personal freedom, naturally ended in an irrepressible conflict. There was also a palpable contradiction in life and morality. Strict obedience was demanded, and yet moral laxity was winked at; world flight was the supreme ideal of the individual, world conquest of the institution; severe penance was exacted and liberal indulgence granted. The Church claimed to represent God on earth and to be the bearer of divine grace, yet she could not calm

[39] Harnack, "What is Christianity?" Eng. trans., pp. 262–263.

the restless soul nor comfort the troubled spirit. The institution of salvation could not give assurance of salvation. Men worked as servants to merit redemption, instead of rejoicing as sons in their salvation. They spent their energy in trying to save themselves with the aid of the means provided by the Church. They did good works to obtain grace, and they received grace to do good works; yet they were never sure of having done enough works to obtain sufficient grace, or of having sufficient grace to do good works and merit justification. This was the intolerable uncertainty which distressed the Wittenberg Monk, and which sent him in search of a more excellent way, the way of Paul, justification by grace through faith alone.

The ultimate source of Catholicism is its idea of God, which is not true to the God revealed by Jesus and beheld by Paul. On that account the Catholic way of salvation, whether Greek or Roman, never quite satisfied the demands of the New Testament or of the human heart. Long time was required before the occasion could arise for the appearance of a great prophet, gripped by a vision of God in Christ, who would experience a new way of salvation, protest against the Church of the ages, and become the founder of a new church with a new way of salvation—salvation by grace, which was never clearly understood in the ancient or the medieval Church. In a broad sense there are but two conceptions of salvation. The one is by ecstasy, the rising to mystic communion with the Absolute; the other by faith, a reconciliation of man with the personal God, resulting in a life of ethical harmony with him. Catholicism failed to grasp the significance of free grace, and never could sing the stanza which is so true to the evangelical mood:

Just as I am without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me
And that thou bidst me come to thee,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

Nor could the Roman Catholic appreciate the ethical principle enunciated by the great Apostle,—that we must become what, by the grace of God, we are. Instead, he made the vain effort to become by human effort and with divine aid what he ought to be. The one way is altruistic, Pauline, Christlike; the other is egoistic, humanistic, Roman.

When Luther announced the glad tidings that we are saved by grace, the basal pillars of Catholicism, the dogmatic decrees, the sacramental system, the penitential discipline—all under the control of the hierarchy—were shaken and shattered. For when men are justified by grace, they need no mediating priesthood, no infusion of sacramental grace, no works of penance, no infallible dogma. They have the testimony of the Spirit, and, as a community of the saved, they are prophets, priests, and kings, who have direct access to God in Christ through his word, and live in the freedom of faith, in the service of love, and in the patience of hope.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVANGELICAL WAYS

Luther—The Lutheran Way

THE Evangelical ways were an answer to deeply felt needs of the soul which Catholicism could not satisfy. Protestantism originated not in a reform of doctrine, of government, or of morals, but in a quest for salvation. It was the result of a new experience of righteousness before God, a new answer to the question, How can a man become just before God? This is the old and ever new problem which man must always face; and until he has answered it, he cannot be at peace with himself or with his God. Paoli Sarpi, in his "History of the Council of Trent," fully understood the issue when he wrote:

> All the errors of Martin were resolved in that point—justification: for this denies the efficacy of the sacraments, the authority of the priests, purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, and all other remedies for the remission of sins. Therefore he that will establish the body of Catholic doctrine must first overthrow this heresy of justification by faith alone.[1]

When Professor Philip Schaff, a brilliant young *privat docent* at the University of Berlin, was elected (1844) to the chair of church history in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States,

[1] Vollmer, "The Reformation a Liberating Force," p. 39.

then located at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, he penetrated to the real issue between Evangelical Christianity on the one hand, and Romanism and rationalism on the other, when he chose for his inaugural address, "Das Princip des Protestantismus." This he defined as justification by grace through faith.

I

Catholicism with its almost infinite variety—its dogmas, worship, government, piety; its officials, sacraments, penitential discipline; its priests, monks, laymen—is rooted in a distinctive idea of God, with a corresponding conception of salvation. Its theology and soteriology pervade and control every major and minor part of that complex institution. For centuries the leading spirits of the Roman Church felt the need of reform, acknowledging that there were serious wrongs "in head and members." But all reformatory efforts failed, because they did not go to the root of the trouble. They proposed reforms in government and discipline, in morals and life, in theology and law; but the ills were not cured. It was like cutting off a branch here and a branch there, always leaving intact the stem and taproot, out of which the branches grew. Gasquet, a Catholic historian, says:

> The most zealous sons of the Church never hesitated to attack this or that abuse and to point out this or that spot, desiring to make the edifice of God's Church, as they understood it, more solid, more useful and more like Christ's ideal. Before 1517 or 1521 no one at this period ever dreamed of wishing to change the basis of the Christian religion, as it was then understood.[2]

[2] "Eve of the Reformation," p. 7.

II

The first to venture upon a "change of basis" was Martin Luther. He became reformer, not intentionally but irresistibly, when he had found a new way of righteousness. This he discovered in the light of a new vision of God. Out of the vision came a new theology and a new soteriology which could not be reconciled with the old. Luther was, therefore, not chiefly a philosopher, a theologian, or a moral hero, but something far greater,—a prophet to whom God revealed himself in his Son Jesus Christ. This was the beginning of a new fellowship with God. The Reformation, accordingly, was not primarily an intellectual, a moral, or a political movement, but a *religious* movement, which had to do with the soul's relation to God.

But in the vision and experience of Luther there was the dynamic of a new order of life. When he found what to him appeared a new God, he became a new man; and in time he was driven by inward necessity, as much as by papal and imperial ban, to organize a new church. Yea more, in his experience were latent the elemental forces of a new world, with its own civilization and culture. The new church required a new worship, a new government, a new piety, and, partly at least, a new doctrine. In the new state were the principles of a new home, a new social order, a new government, a new school, a new art, a new form of recreation and play. All these things were in the evangelical experience, as the oak is in the acorn; but even now, four centuries later, they have not all been realized. If one, however, were to put one's finger upon the heart out of which are the issues of life of the modern age in its unity and in its diversity, one

would have to place it on the experience that is declared in the doctrine, "the just shall live by faith."

Protestantism may, with show of reason, be charged with the sin of division; for there are many churches and they have not always been friendly towards one another. Now, more than ever, men deplore the loss of collective action on the part of the evangelical groups. Yet we must not forget that, with all its divisions, there is a unity in Protestantism which makes the churches kin, and differentiates them from Romanism and rationalism. The bond of fellowship is the common experience of salvation by grace, the cardinal principle of Evangelical Christianity. Upon this basis there is a community of spirit in Protestant Churches, becoming ever more visible and tangible, which we should never be ready to surrender even in the interest of the efficiency that is supposed to come through institutional uniformity.

We shall consider the evangelical way of salvation first as an experience, and then as a doctrine and an institution; for before it was embodied in a church, it was spirit and life in a person.

It must be conceded, even if grudgingly and of necessity, by Protestants generally, that the classic experience of evangelical salvation is to be found in the life of Martin Luther. This concession need not in any way detract from the glory of Zwingli and of Calvin, who were the founders of a second type of Protestantism, called Reformed in distinction from the Lutheran.[3] A study of these two types will suffice

[3] Rudolf Staehelin, who has written the standard biography of Zwingli, says: "The time is past when it is a matter of honor even with the members of the Reformed Church to put Zwingli above Luther or on a par with him, whether one considers his priority or his significance in the founding of the evangelical faith and

to make clear the evangelical idea of salvation, which needs to be differentiated also from the way of the Catholics and of the Humanists.

Luther began his religious struggle not by criticizing the dogmas, the government, or the morality of his Church. He was one of her most devoted and loyal sons, and had no thought of creating a serious disturbance through his Ninety-five Theses. For he felt convinced that the Pope needed only be informed about the abuse of indulgences promptly to rectify them. Then all would be well again. He never dreamed that he was kindling so great a flame with so small a spark.

His concern was wholly with a personal and religious question,—his relation to his God. In 1535 he formulated it, in his inimitable way and in the colloquial German of his time, as follows: *O wenn willtu einmal fromm werden und genug thun, das du einen gnädigen Gott kriegest?* (O when will you become pious, and do enough that you may get a gracious God?) [4] This was the starting-point of the Reformation. All the issues of Catholicism were involved in that question; to answer it the Catholic Church had originated and worked for a thousand years. The first implication is, that God is not gracious and man is not just; the second, that man must make God gracious by making himself just. To accomplish this task, which men have

church. And rightly so. Martin Luther remains, both on account of his reformatory work and of his spiritual equipment, *the* Reformer of the evangelical church." On the following page, Staehelin adds these words: "It is different when the further development of the evangelical church in doctrine, cultus, and polity, the definite and practical formulation of evangelical ideas, is taken into consideration. At this point the pastor of Zurich appears not as the serving assistant, but as the independent coworker and colleague, of the Wittenberg Doctor."

[4] EA.[2] 19, 152.

tried in vain since the world began, Luther entered the monastery.

Here he engaged in a prolonged struggle with himself, his sins, and his God; in reality with the religion of his Church. He had recourse to Schoolmen—Occam, Biel; to mystics—St. Bernard and Tauler; to Augustine and the Scriptures. He tried all the devices offered by his Church to solve his problem,—the monastery, the priesthood, the confessional, prayer, self-mortification, a pilgrimage to Rome; but he found no peace. In the words of Paul he voiced his own despair: "Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" Light flashed through the darkness when he saw that the phrase *justitia dei* (righteousness of God) in Romans 1:17, was not the *justitia qua deus justus est et peccatores injustosque punit,* but that *qua nos deus misericors justificat per fidem.*[5] Luther thus discovered that man cannot make himself righteous and, therefore, God gracious; but that God is gracious and, therefore, makes man righteous. With that discovery he had an *evangel,* good news; and, ceasing to be at heart a Catholic priest, he became an evangelical prophet. Then was Evangelical Christianity born in the soul of Luther, afterward to be embodied in the Lutheran Church. All else had to follow in due time; and, when the occasion arose, Catholicism had to be relinquished, and Protestantism had to be established. In principle he had already outlived his Church, but only through a bitter conflict were the implications of his experience put into doctrines and institutions.

[5] The righteousness by which God is just and punishes unrighteous sinners, but that by which a merciful God justifies us through faith. EA. Lat. 32, 22; Tischreden, EA. 58, 413.

We have already said that Catholicism is based upon a distinctive conception of God. Luther ceased to be a Catholic, and became both a Protestant and an evangelical, because he changed his view of God.[6] In childhood and early manhood he had thought of him as an implacable Judge who punishes the guilty. He felt that no one could satisfy him, so as to escape punishment and win favor. Christ ceased, in Luther's eyes, to be the mediator of grace and pardon, and was only the dispenser of penalties. "I did not believe in Christ," he once said, "but regarded him as a stern and terrible judge, as he appeared in paintings sitting on a rainbow. . . . When I beheld him upon the cross, he appeared to me like a flash of lightning; when his name was mentioned, I would rather have heard the Devil's name pronounced; I shrank back in terror when I saw his picture, closed my eyes and would rather have seen the Devil's." [7] In his maturer years Luther found, in the writings of Occam, the idea that God is arbitrary will and arbitrarily determines the conditions of salvation. God promised to consider certain acts of man as meritorious; and if a man performed them he would obtain God's favor, which is assured and sealed by the sacraments. An arbitrary Deity like this Luther could not trust; he feared and even abhorred him.

Luther found rest when he rediscovered God in

[6] So far as the doctrine of God and Christ was concerned, as this was contained in the ecumenical creeds, there was no difference between the Catholics and the Evangelicals. Yet the formal dogma about God is one thing, and the way men think about God in their daily fellowship with him is quite another thing. Whatever may have been the Catholic dogma, Luther grew up under a conception of God wholly different from that which he discovered later in the New Testament.

[7] Köstlin, I. pp. 54-55.

Christ,—the God of grace who is ready to forgive freely without merits and works.[8] In God's grace alone he trusted for salvation; "for where there is remission of sins, there are also righteousness and salvation." [9] His despair turned into hope, his fear into courage, his doubt of himself into faith in his God.

From now on he had a new way of access to God. Hitherto he labored under the impression that by sufficient penance and by good resolutions he could make himself fit for the necessary sacramental grace, and by ascetic works could obtain assurance that he had received sufficient grace. Thus salvation was partly by grace and partly by works, *i. e.*, by coöperation between the divine and the human will. This compromise may satisfy the average man; for he need not depend upon himself altogether, since grace will assist him; nor need he rely on grace only, since it becomes operative only on condition of good works. To Luther, however, the compromise became intolerable: it brought him to the brink of despair. For at one time he was not sure of having enough good works to merit grace, and at another time he was not sure of having enough grace to do good works. At this point his break with his Church began. He not only could not find assurance of salvation, but dared not even hope for salvation. He wavered and hesitated between works and grace until he found a firm foundation in Christ and him crucified,[10]—a new way of justification taken from the Scriptures, especially the writings of Paul.

[8] "Gratia, sine meritis et operibus."

[9] Luther, "The Small Catechism."

[10] Luther in 1515, in opposition to Occam and Biel, denied the idea of merit, and especially the scholastic theory of self-preparation of man for the infusion of grace. See Tschachert, "Entstehung der Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirchenlehre," p. 38.

"Only through the blood of Christ," he said, "will man be delivered from anxiety and distress. If he behold this in faith, he will know that his sins are washed away by him; and through faith he becomes pure and secure." [11] In Christ and the cross he found both the way and the assurance of salvation.

With his new conception of God came a new idea of grace. Grace is no longer thought of as something that can be infused into the soul through sacramental means,—*gratia infusa*,—a stream of spiritual forces flowing into the believer from the transcendental world. It is the mercy of God, made known through Christ, freely forgiving the sinner without merit or works. To be saved by grace, therefore, is not to receive a substance which transforms the sinful nature of man, but to enter upon good terms with God, freed from his wrath and enjoying his favor. The believer still has sin in his nature, but, now that he is under grace, sin is no longer imputed to him. Therefore he can utter the paradox: *Simul sum peccator et justus* [12]—"I am at the same time sinner and righteous."

The idea of faith, likewise, is changed. Faith is trust in God's grace in Christ; *fiducia*, not *assensus;* not mere acceptance of historic statements. It is man's response to God when He approaches him through his Son,—a divine effect wrought in the soul, not a product of man's will. Faith lays hold of the living Christ and of his righteousness in such a way that the believer no longer lives, but Christ lives in him, making him potentially, though not yet actually, righteous. "Through faith a man's attitude to God is at once

[11] Rinn und Jüngst, "Dogmengeschichtliches Lesebuch," pp. 340–341.
[12] Moeller-Kawerau, K. G. III. p. 9.

changed; he who was hitherto turned away from God is now turned toward God, is freed from guilt, and is the object of divine pleasure." [13] Faith includes assent to facts; but if it is only the holding as true what the Church or the Bible teaches, it is far removed from evangelical faith, which is childlike trust in, and unconditional surrender to, the grace revealed in Jesus Christ. To use Luther's oft-quoted words: "Faith is a divine work in us, which changes us and begets us anew from God, and kills the old Adam and makes us wholly different men. . . . Oh! it is a living, active, working, mighty thing—this faith; so that is impossible that it should not without ceasing work good." [14]

The decisive issue between Catholicism and Protestantism is the conception of justification (*justificatio*), which involves the whole idea of the way of salvation. The difference between the two conceptions is, that the former resolves justification into a process and identifies it with sanctification, while the latter makes it an act,—an *actus Dei forensis*,—followed by sanctification as a process. In the Catholic view man is not declared just before he is just; and he becomes just gradually, by grace and good works. It may be said that man makes himself righteous with the aid of sacramental grace, without which no one can save himself. Salvation is, accordingly, a joint product of divine grace and of the will of the regenerate man coöperating with the divine will in the attainment of righteousness.

According to Luther, who came under the influence of Augustine, sin, *i. e.*, concupiscence,[15] is forgiven in

[13] Oehler, "Symbolik," § 145.

[14] "Vorrede auf die Epistel S. Pauli an die Römer (1522)," EA., XVII. pp. 239–252.

[15] *Concupiscentia*—carnal self-seeking, which continues to work

baptism; not blotted out, but no longer imputed. In justifying a man God delivers him from the guilt and punishment of sin, but not from sin itself. On this account, neither before nor after baptism can a man be saved by his own efforts. "Free will," says Luther, "that is not under grace, has in no way ability to attain righteousness for itself. It is unconditionally in sin." [16] Man is saved, therefore, by grace only, and grace is made effectual by God alone. Since salvation is wholly a work of God, man's destiny depends on God and not on the will of man. This is the tap-root of the doctrine of predestination, which was held, though with a difference of emphasis, by both Luther and Calvin.

In the evangelical sense, justification is to enter upon good terms with God; not to have one's nature changed in an incomprehensible way, or to be free from sin, but to be released from God's wrath, and to live in the enjoyment of his favor. In a larger view, "it is peace and freedom in God through Christ, dominion over the world and an eternity within." "For a man," says Luther, "is not regarded as righteous before God because he *is* righteous, but because he *is considered* as righteous by God." Again, "Only through the imputation of a merciful God, by virtue of faith in his word, are we righteous." [17] Also, "The saints are inwardly always sinners; therefore they are outwardly always justified. . . . Therefore we are outwardly righteous, not on account of ourselves, not for our works, but wholly through the imputation of God." The Augsburg Confession (Article 20), also, makes the important distinction between righteousness in its re-

in the baptized and in the devout, and requires non-imputation on God's part.

[16] Rinn und Jüngst, p. 341.

[17] *Idem,* p. 337.

ligious sense and in its "civil and philosophical" sense. The former can be understood only when men have passed through "the conflict of a troubled conscience," and have found peace in the grace of God.[18]

The fact, however, that the justified are incapable of doing works of merit does not relieve them from living lives of truth and righteousness. While sin remains after baptism and is no longer imputed by God, the Christian must fight against it and seek to overcome it. Luther felt that the experience of justification as naturally brings forth righteous living as the bush blossoms into the rose. Faith spontaneously produces good works. A man is not saved by character, but character is a necessary outcome of salvation. In other words, "good works do not make a good man," but "a good man does good works." "We must always pray and work," writes Luther, "that grace and spirit may increase, that the old body of sin decline and be abolished. Because he has not concluded our righteousness and made us perfect saints, but only made a beginning, so as to complete all." [19] The Small Catechism says: Jesus Christ "has redeemed me . . . in order that I might be his, live under him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness and blessedness." [20]

III

Several consequences naturally flow from Luther's doctrine of justification. The bearer of the power of salvation is not an institution of salvation interposed

[18] Rinn and Jüngst, p. 339. See also Smalcald Articles, III. No. 13.
[19] *Idem*, p. 339.
[20] "When one after having faith and the Spirit sins, he never really had the Spirit and faith."—Luther.

between God and the soul. It is the brotherhood of the saved, the congregation of believers with the word of God and the Spirit of God.[21] "The Church is the congregation of saints (the assembly of all believers), in which the Gospel is rightly taught (purely preached) and the Sacraments rightly administered."[22] Gone is the hierarchy, when the believer is prophet, priest, and king, and has free access to God; gone is the sacramental system with its fragments of grace, when the grace of God in Christ Jesus forgives the sinner and makes him a saint; gone is the penitential discipline, when works of merit are superseded by the merits of Jesus Christ; gone are the dogmatic decrees of councils or dictates of Popes, when men have free access to the word of God and the testimony of the Holy Spirit; gone are monks and nuns, when the counsels of perfection are fulfilled in the service of love in all the relations of the social order.

The primary function of the Church is to proclaim the gospel, which begets faith in the sinner and confirms faith in the saint. In the words of the Augsburg Confession, the glorified Christ "sanctifies those that believe in him, by sending the Holy Spirit into their hearts, who shall rule (sanctify, purify, strengthen), comfort, and quicken them, and shall defend them against the devil and the power of sin." In the Apology,[23] the Church is called the body of Christ; because "Christ by his Spirit renews, sanctifies and governs." The power of the Church is the word of God, which is to be preached with praise, thanksgiving, and supplication. There is no more fasting, celi-

[21] The holiness of the Church "consists in the Word of God and true faith." Smalcald Articles, XII.
[22] Aug. Conf. VII.
[23] Articles 7 and 8.

bacy, pilgrimages, holy water; nothing but preaching, praying, and practicing. Through these saving faith is to be spread, and the world won for Christ,—not by might, nor by power, but by his Spirit.

Luther also introduced a new motive for worship. The Catholic worships in order *to be* saved; the Evangelical, because he *is* saved. The one is like a servant seeking wages, the other is like a son rejoicing in an inheritance. The difference appears in mood, in material, and in method, of worship.

The life of faith is wrought out in the service of love, which is itself a part of worship,—prayer and preaching put into practice. The Christian is master of all and servant of none, through faith; he is servant of all and master of none, through love. "The highest art," says Luther, "the noblest life, and the holiest conduct is the practice of love for God and one's neighbor." In answer to the question, "What is it to serve God and to do his will?" he says: "Nothing else than to show mercy to our neighbor who needs our service. God in heaven does not need it." At another time he said: "I will give myself as a sort of Christ to my neighbor, as Christ gave himself to me; and I will do nothing in this life except what I see will be needful, advantageous, and wholesome for my neighbor." [24] Men are to abide in their social relations; [25] and in the performance of social duties in a Christian way are to develop Christian virtues in themselves and to promote the Christian life in others. Social service is both benevolence and worship. Monastic withdrawal from the world is in principle denied, for it has no value in the way of saving merit, nor for the development of

[24] Hall, "Christian Ethics," p. 495.
[25] "Servire vocatione."

the ideal Christian life. The counsels of perfection are fulfilled when one lives the natural life in a Christian way.

Again, as in worship, so in work the motive is disinterested love. Men live or work in society, not to be saved, but because they are saved; not as servants, but as sons. Here is the joy of the Christian life; because all the energies of the Christian man are freed that he may spend them, not for his own salvation, but for the salvation and common good of others.

What is to be the attitude of the saved toward the world? The world is the work of God, and the love of God protects me from the evils in the world. The world is my servant, not my master, nor my enemy. The Christian is lord of the world. He is to use and to develop its resources in the interest of his ethical purposes. The believer, sure that all things work together for his good, does not permit himself to be disturbed by the limitations that the world puts upon him, or by the suffering that may come through the world. Even in the face of death he is more than conqueror through him that loves us, and triumphs in the assurance of eternal life.

Powerfully influenced by these ideas, which are legitimate inferences from his own doctrine of justification, Luther first criticized and tried to cure this or that defect in the Catholic Church, and then was driven to renounce it as a whole. He differed from it in principle, and, therefore, was compelled, if true to his ideals, to work out a new view of the world and of life,—the view that distinguishes the Modern Age from the Medieval. He simplified faith, worship, and piety. He unified regeneration and justification, the believer and God in Christ, the spiritual and the nat-

ural, the religious and the ethical:—perhaps the most marvelous simplification and unification in the history of religion.

IV

Luther the theologian was, however, not so great as Luther the prophet. To do justice to his contribution to modern Christianity, one must draw this distinction. As a prophet he ranks with the Apostles and Fathers: few were his superiors in the history of the Church. But his theology was not the necessary outcome and expression of his religious experience. This is clearly evident in his later life, as well as in the Church of which he is the leader. He came to identify the word of God with the letter of the Bible, and failed to distinguish the gospel which the Scriptures contain from the Bible as a whole. He saw clearly that the essence of the gospel was not a fund of ecclesiastical traditions, a body of dogmas, or the contents of a collection of books, but the free grace of God in Christ. He distinguished the Old Testament from the New, and even recognized the relative value of the New Testament books.[26] Yet, when occasion required, he stood flat-footed and immovable upon the letter of the Scriptures. He was the prophet, when, at Worms, he defied the Pope and Emperor, saying: "Unless I am refuted and convicted by testimonies of the Scriptures or *by clear arguments*,—I am conquered by the Holy Scriptures quoted by me, and my conscience is bound in the word of God; I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is unsafe and dangerous to do anything

[26] He gave Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation a secondary rank in the New Testament Canon.—Tschackert, "Entstehung der Luth. und Ref. Kirchenlehre," p. 320.

against the conscience." At Marburg the tables were turned. He was now the scribe, when he faced Zwingli and without argument pointed to the words written on the table before him, *Hoc est corpus meum* (this is my body). Thus in substance Luther announced at Marburg that Christian fellowship was conditioned by agreement on doctrinal definitions, rather than by common experience of justification by the free grace of God through faith.

He also reverted toward the Catholic conception of sacramental grace, from which his conception of justification by grace should have delivered him. With all his emphasis on the word in the sacrament, he could not escape the idea of sacramental grace different from the grace in the word. He did say that "the sacraments without the word are not able to do anything, but the word without the sacraments is. If necessary one can be saved without the sacraments, but not without the word." [27] But he also discerned the Lord's body in, with, and under the elements of bread and wine, which had a mystical effect upon the communicant; and this at once implies a distinct kind of sacramental grace, a certain efficacy in the material elements (*dingliche Wirkung*). Sacramental grace is spoken of as a "treasure" which "the Church possesses" and "distributes." Thus he restored into Protestantism a theory of sacramental efficacy leaning towards Catholicism, and not reconcilable with the evangelical conception of grace which he expounded in his earlier writings. He made faith in Christ, which was for him the essence of Christianity, identical with faith in a mystery which was contrary not only to reason but to the principles of the gospel of which he himself was

[27] McGiffert, "Protestant Thought before Kant," p. 40, note.

the chief exponent. In this respect he modified the whole Protestant system and retarded its consistent development.

Luther, like the Schoolmen, resolved the gospel into a system of doctrine, revealed in the Scriptures and handed down to the Church for safe-keeping and for instruction. In their view doctrine preceded life. Luther said: "Denn Gott ist nicht pzo (so) viel gelegen am leben als an der Lere. . . . Denn eyn böses leben ist nyrgent pzo schedlich als böse lere." (For God is not so much concerned about life as about doctrine. . . . For an evil life is nowhere so harmful as evil doctrine.) [28] Here he was in full accord with Thomas Aquinas, with the difference that he tested the Church by the Bible and St. Thomas tested the Bible by the Church. Both submitted to an external authority having divine sanctions.

In the same spirit he accepted the Ecumenical Creeds as brief compends of biblical truth necessary for salvation. He revitalized them by relating them to his doctrine of salvation. "No theologian after Athanasius," says Harnack, "made the deity of Jesus so vital as Luther. No teacher since Cyril found so much comfort in the union of the two natures as Luther." In one of his table-talks Luther said:

> I have learned apart from Scriptures amidst the greatest agony and temptation, that Christ is God and that he became flesh, and in like manner I have learned the truth of the article concerning the Trinity. . . . For in the greatest

[28] In fairness to Luther this passage should be read with another in his Table-Talk, where he says: "Theology consists in use and practice, not in speculating and reasoning about the things of God . . . In short, each art (Kunst) in domestic and world affairs which busies itself only with speculating and does not bear fruit in works is lost and profits nothing."—Erlang. Edit., IX. p. 182.

temptation nothing is able to help us, except our belief that the Son of God became flesh and bone, and sits at the right hand of the Father and intercedes for us. There is no more powerful consolation than this.

Luther failed, however, to see that the Greek dogma of God and Christ was rooted in a conception of salvation wholly different from his own; expressed in terms, also, which are strange and incomprehensible to the modern mind. *The God whom Luther discovered and who saved him was far more adorable, lovely, believable, hope-inspiring, and comforting than the God of ancient dogma.* Evangelical Christianity requires a theology and a christology that correspond to its experience of grace as manifested by God in Christ; embodied, besides, in the language of our own age. The new life which pulsated in the churches of the Reformation "required a wholly new theology to match it, but to the production of such a theology the Protestant Church was for the time unequal." [29] That may have been more difficult than revitalizing an old dogma with a new experience, but the Church cannot be at rest doctrinally until the new faith has been embodied in terms that are true to its contents.

Luther, further, betrayed his scholastic tendencies when he persisted in his speculations about the ubiquity of Christ's humanity. Thus he was led far afield from the realm of experimental religious truth into the realm of metaphysical ideas,—a realm that belongs to the philosopher, rather than to the believer. "The melancholy consequence was that Lutheranism received at once in christology the most fully developed scholastic doctrine ever received by an ecclesiastical community. Owing to this, Lutheranism was for

[29] Denney, "Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation," p. 92.

almost two hundred years thrown back into the middle ages." [30]

Luther failed to distinguish gospel from theology. The two were fused into one, so that both were made necessary to salvation. "All and everything must be believed, or nothing," said Luther. Of course his experience here again could not be squared with his theory. Faith, in one sense, was trust in the grace of God; in the other sense, compliant acceptance of a body of doctrine which either is incapable of being immediately experienced or is in conflict with the human reason. The religious life is made to depend upon something that cannot become an object of personal experience. This is the essence of scholasticism, and the cause of untold oppression and grievous burdening of the conscience. Thus, what Luther fought in one form, he founded again in another form,—the tyranny of ecclesiastical authority.[31]

After all this is said, it cannot be too often repeated that the demand for the distinction between theology and gospel does not imply indifference to doctrine. Harnack reminds us that it would be far better *to have the old dogma than no doctrine at all.* Such an indifference leads inevitably to Catholicism and is hostile to Evangelical Christianity. "Everything depends upon the right doctrines of God as the Father of Jesus Christ, and of the old and new man"; but "evangelical faith knows only of 'doctrines' which are at the same time *dispositions* and *deeds.*"

[30] Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., VII. p. 243.

[31] See especially Harnack, "What is Christianity?" Eng. trans., pp. 291–294, a clear and sane criticism of the defects in Luther's doctrine: also, at greater length, his "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., VII. pp. 239–266.

CHAPTER IX

THE EVANGELICAL WAYS

Zwingli and Calvin—The Reformed Way

I

When Luther parted from Zwingli at Marburg (1529), he said: "You have a different spirit from us" (*alium spiritum habetis*). They had come to an agreement on so many points that their irreconcilable difference on one point—the doctrine of the Lord's Supper—seems incomprehensible, until one observes that their difference in regard to the Lord's Supper proceeded from different views of the way in which salvation is appropriated, and involved, ultimately, different explanations of the gospel in all its bearings. Notwithstanding their common protest against Romanism, Humanism, and Radicalism, and their common consent to the cardinal articles of the evangelical faith,—fourteen of the fifteen Marburg Articles,—they differed sufficiently in viewpoint, mood and method, to make it impossible for them to come to terms.[1]

They were at odds primarily in their conception of the way of salvation,—how salvation was given of God, how it was appropriated by men, and how it approved

[1] Loofs says: "Luther was led in a way far different from Zwingli. Zwingli knew and tolerated the humanistic protest before he comprehended the religious ideas which he held in common with Luther. He was an Erasmian before he was a reformer. Luther's development was narrower, yet religiously deeper. The waves of the new learning beat but lightly against the cloister cell in which he prepared his lectures and had his spiritual conflicts."—"Luther's Stellung zum Mittelalter und zur Neuzeit," p. 10.

itself in men. The reason for this difference is to be found in their personal experience, their way of approach to Evangelical Christianity, and their manner of protest against Roman Catholicism.

Luther was in quest of righteousness, the assurance of forgiveness of sin, that he might be at peace with his God. For this he entered the monastery. After a bitter struggle he found rest in the grace of God manifested in Christ and appropriated by faith. He revived the Pauline doctrine of justification by grace through faith. The word and deed of Luther, the doctrine, polity, cultus, and piety of his Church, were controlled by his experience. The sole purpose of the Church was to proclaim the grace of God, and to cultivate the life of the saved.

Zwingli was reared under the enlightening and liberating influences of humanism. He was taught to go to the sources (*ad fontes*): for culture, to the Greek and Latin classics; for religion, to the Hebrew and Greek Testaments. In 1523 he wrote: "Ten years before did I begin to study Greek, that I might learn the teaching of Jesus out of the original sources." [2] He was in search of reality and simplicity in religion, the *philosophia Christi*, the Christian way of life. Popular superstition, elaborate ritualism, scholastic theology, pagan idolatry under cover of Christian piety, could not long survive the penetrating intellect and moral discernment of humanism. It inspired enthusiasm for reform, and not a few humanists became ardent reformers. Zwingli, however, could not remain a humanist; he turned evangelical.

When Zwingli left the University of Basel, he was not disturbed, like Luther, by the question of personal

[2] "Auslegung der Schluss-reden."

salvation. He had no deep sense of sin and of the need of grace. He was concerned more about the welfare of his people,—their political and moral needs. Instead of going to a monastery to save himself, he went into a parish to save others. He was a patriot as well as a priest, and was jealous for the welfare of his countrymen. He became a teacher of promising young men, and prepared them for the university. He turned his attention from theology and philosophy to the Bible, which became the fontal source of his preaching, and the criterion of the doctrines and practices of church and state.

The nearest approach to an account of his conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism,—corresponding to Luther's discovery of the free grace of God in Christ and yet in substance widely differing from it,—is the following passage:

> In my younger days I was as much devoted to worldly knowledge as any of my age, and when seven or eight years ago I gave myself up to the study of the Bible I was completely under the power of the jarring philosophy and theology. But led by the Scriptures and the word of God, I was forced to the following conclusion: You must leave them all alone and learn the meaning of the Word out of the Word itself. So I asked God to give me his light, and then the Scriptures began to be much more intelligible when I read them themselves alone, than when I read much commentary and exposition of them. Do you not see that was a sign that God was leading me? For I never could have come to such a conclusion by my own small understanding.[3]

Zwingli discovered the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, Luther the free grace of God as the only ground of justification.

[3] Jackson, "Life of Zwingli," pp. 83. 84.

The change in his religious views was the result, not so much of a spiritual conflict with his sins and his God, as of gradual illumination by teachers and patient study. Erasmus taught him the sole sufficiency of the Bible, without a violent controversy with ecclesiastical authority. Wyttenbach taught him the sole sufficiency of Christ as Savior, without ecclesiastical mediation. Luther taught him the difference between law and grace, and the meaning of the message of Paul, without a deep personal experience of sin and salvation.

When doubts arose or questions were raised about things taught or done, he put them to the test of Christ. *Hat uns Christus so gelehrt* (Has Christ taught us thus)? When he saw idolatrous homage paid to the Virgin at Einsiedlen, he instinctively revolted from the exaltation of the creature above the Creator, and boldly announced that all honor should be given to God alone. He denied the authority of traditions, ordinances, and customs which were not based upon the word of God. In Zurich he preached and taught the Bible only, expounding the Gospels in course to show men the word of God, and the book of the Acts to show men the Church under the control of the Spirit of God.

In the light of the Bible he criticized and reformed the Church. He found neither Pope nor hierarchy in the New Testament. He denounced the mass of superstitions and idolatries that in the course of centuries had been brought into the Church and sanctified by Christian usage, but had no basis in Scripture. The whole system of meritorious works, monasticism, pilgrimages, penitential discipline, he rejected as unscriptural and as human inventions. He dispensed with sensuous vehicles of grace. All kinds of mediators

between the soul and God—virgin, saints, relics, personal and material mediation—interfered, in his view, with the free operation of God's Spirit through his word in the hearts of men. God was not bound to an ecclesiastical system: he could work when and where and how he pleased.

The Zwinglian reform was, consequently, far more radical than the Lutheran in its treatment of Catholic traditions and customs. Zwingli's reconstruction of the Church was more thorough; as is evidenced by the removal of all remnants of Romanism in worship, by his more democratic church government, and by his reforms in social and civil life. Luther was guided by the principle, that whatever is not contrary to the Bible, and is useful for edification, might be retained. Zwingli held that only those things were to be retained which were commanded in the Bible. That he was always rigorously true to this ideal may be disputed, and yet it expresses clearly his controlling purpose.[4]

The difference between Zwingli and Luther in their protest against Catholicism has been defined as follows: Zwingli attacked the heathen elements in the Catholic Church, namely, the deification of the creature,—the Virgin, saints, sacred places, and the hierarchy,—for these detracted from God's honor, and put human opinions in place of divine revelation. Luther attacked the Jewish errors in the Catholic Church, namely, the system of meritorious works; for these detracted from the free grace of God in Christ. The one criticized and renounced Catholicism because it

[4] Max Goebel says that Zwingli, in his controversy with the Anabaptists, abandoned the positive biblical principle, like Luther in opposition to Carlstadt, and contented himself with the negative view of accepting whatever is not forbidden in the Scriptures. "Geschichte des Christlichen Lebens," I. p. 153.

deprived God of his glory; the other, because it deprived men of true salvation.

Zwingli's idea of salvation was shaped wholly by his idea of God. He thought of God as sovereign will,—the absolute and unconditioned cause of everything, a philosophical concept with religious inferences. Luther accepted God as revealed in his Son, as a Father who pardons sinners and adopts them as sons. Luther's starting point was christological, God in Christ, and anthropological, man's personal experience of saving grace. Zwingli's starting point was theological. He went back of Christ and began with the absolute will, the source and power of creation, providence, salvation, and sanctification. This difference resulted in two distinct ways of evangelical salvation.

II

For Zwingli salvation had its origin in the will of God, depending upon divine election alone, and not upon the merits of men. Luther made the grace of God central and final; Zwingli went beyond the historical revelation of grace to the absolute will of God. Divine election is realized in the elect through the life and death, the resurrection and glorification, of Jesus; and through the Word, and the ordinances of the Church. Yet God is by no means bound in revelation or in salvation to external means. Historical acts and institutions are only signs and seals of election: not the *cause* of salvation, but the *declaration* of salvation; not *channels,* but *symbols,* of grace. For grace is a spiritual quality which cannot be transmitted by material vehicles. Zwingli's indignation is aroused when external media are put in place of the immediate

spiritual activity of God in men. Hence his almost iconoclastic opposition to hierarchy, Virgin, saints, masses, altars, on the one hand; and his unbending attitude toward Luther's sacramental views at Marburg.

Faith has not the central significance for Zwingli that it has for Luther. For Luther it is, though wrought by God, the condition for the appropriation of divine grace; for Zwingli it is a sign of election,—not the cause, but the result of election. For Luther it is trust exclusively in the pardoning love of God; for Zwingli it is "absolute trust in God and his word without wavering." In his Sixty-seven Conclusions he correlates faith with the all-controlling Providence of God; Luther always correlates it with the forgiving grace of God. Zwingli had not the same interest in justification as Luther: he was concerned in the assurance of election which carried with it the forgiveness of sin and the process of sanctification, through the life and work of Christ.

Luther regarded the Christian life as a free and spontaneous expression of gratitude for salvation, the disinterested service of men under the impulse of love, a service that is both worship and benevolence. Zwingli considered the elect bound by the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, in the application of which to life they find proof of their election. Here there was a challenge to the will of man and a compelling motive for the transformation of society, which developed into the aggressive puritanism of the Reformed Churches. The Bible itself came to be regarded as a book of laws that were to regulate the life of the elect,—their worship, their church organization, and their personal and social relations in church and state. For Luther the

Bible was a revelation of grace, and the means for making known and confirming the grace of God to the sinner: only that is authoritative, in the Scriptures, which stresses Christ (*das Christum treibet*). True, both conceptions of the Bible were held by both Reformers, yet held in such different relations that they produced two distinct types of Christian life and morality.

III

After the death of Zwingli (1531), John Calvin of Geneva became the leader of the Reformed Churches. Born in 1509, he naturally belonged to the second generation of Reformers, and was the heir of Luther and Zwingli. Yet he was by no means a mere disciple and imitator. He ranks with Zwingli as an original reformer, and as the founder of a distinct type of evangelical Protestantism with its own practical aims and doctrinal system.

His experience of conversion, doubtless, had profound influence, not only upon his theory of salvation, but upon his life and thought generally. In a tract addressed to Sadolet, he speaks of having tried the Catholic means of salvation without finding peace through any of them. Then he adds: "As by a sudden flash of light, I discovered in what an abyss of error, in what filth, I was steeped. So I did, O Lord! what was my duty, and gave myself, in terror and in tears, to thy way, condemning my earlier manner of life." In another passage, in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms (1557), he says: "God by sudden conversion (*subita conversione*) reduced my mind to docility." Here two ideas stand out in bold relief: the sovereignty of God ("God reduced my mind to docility"),

and man's unconditional surrender to God's will ("I gave myself to thy way").

In his doctrine of salvation Calvin is in sympathy with Zwingli: he is primarily concerned with the maintenance of the glory and majesty of God. The redemption and happiness of men are only a means to this end. Professor Besz says: "The suggestion, which Luther's sayings often awaken, that God exists for man's sake, Calvin never allowed to come up." Sin and the Fall were made subservient to the glory of God. God, as the absolute Ruler of the Universe, determined to manifest both his mercy and his justice. He, therefore, created men, choosing some for salvation that his mercy might be revealed, and choosing others for damnation that his justice might be revealed. Thus, through the elect and the reprobate, God is glorified.

The fall of man is included in the decree of God, and God becomes the author of sin,—*auctor peccati.* Sin itself is a means for the divine glory. Calvin could readily accept the *Decretum horrible,* for it served to glorify God.

> I ask again, How is it that the fall of Adam involves so many nations, with their infant children, in eternal death without remedy, unless it so seemed meet to God? Here the most loquacious tongues must be dumb. The decree, I admit, is horrible—*decretum quidem horribile, fateor.* ("Institutes," Bk. III. cap. 23, 7.)

After the decree of the fall comes the more comfortable article on predestination,—at least for the elect:

> Predestination is the eternal counsel of God by which he has decreed what shall become of every man. For not all are created under the same conditions; but some are ordained to eternal life and others to eternal damnation.

Each is predestined either to salvation or to reprobation by an eternal unchangeable decree; the one by virtue of undeserved mercy, the other by a righteous though inscrutable judgment. In no sense is God controlled by a fore-knowledge of men's actions, but by his own absolute will. ("Institutes," Bk. III. cap. 21, 5.)

Salvation clearly has its source and power in God; man is wholly dependent on his providence and grace. As the decree of election is irresistible, so also must his grace be. The elect must persevere unto the end. Nothing can separate them from his love. Here Calvin went beyond Luther. The latter had assurance of faith; but Calvin had assurance of perseverance, which Luther never affirmed. Calvin differed from Zwingli in holding that election unto salvation is only through Christ; while Zwingli claimed that some have been elected before Christ, not through him and by him.

The work of salvation, in its historical form, is accomplished through the incarnation and the Christian Church. The elect realize their election through the word, the sacraments, and Christian living. In the exposition of the appropriation of salvation Calvin was more in accord with Luther than with Zwingli. Professor Lang says:

Calvin expounded more clearly and more logically the original views of Luther on salvation, faith, justification, and sanctification, than any other dogmatician of the Reformers.[5]

The elect are justified by imputation of Christ's righteousness and by faith alone. Sanctification follows justification, continuing as a life-long process. The Church is the company of the elect. It is free

[5] "Zwingli and Calvin," p. 106.

from human authority, kings and bishops, opinions and traditions, and is bound only by the word of God. The notes of the Church (*notae ecclesiae*) are the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. In the Reformed Confessions administration of Christian discipline is generally added as a third note. The Church is both an institution of salvation with gospel and sacraments, and a religious community coöperating in bringing the individual and communal life under the power of God's word.

The officers of the Church receive their authority, not from the congregation, on the basis of the universal priesthood of the believer, but directly from God; and their function is preaching, teaching, discipline, and the declaration of God's laws. Their oversight is of spiritual and civil affairs in the sense of a theocracy. The Evangelical Church of Calvin is in spirit a theocracy like the Catholic Church of Rome. They differ only as to what the will of God is, and as to the manner in which it is to be made to prevail in life. They agree that it is the function of the Church through its officers to make the will of God prevail, even by legal measures. To offend the Church and to violate its authority is tantamount to an offense against God.

Both the word and the sacraments are effectual only in the elect. "In the elect alone the sacraments accomplish what they represent." [6] Faith is the sure evidence of election, for only the elect can believe. Yet, since all the commandments of God are addressed to all men, all are to live and to act as if they were elect. In his views of the Lord's Supper, Calvin differed from Zwingli, and approached the sacramental

[6] "Institutes" IV, 14, 14.

views of Luther. The believer is to be mystically united (*unio mystica*) with the glorified Christ: a union realized through the humanity of Christ, or through the flesh of Christ, *caro Christi.* All the blessings of Christ are imparted to the communicant "out of the substance of the flesh of Christ"; which, however,—contrary to Luther's view,—is not in the bread and wine, and is not partaken of through the mouth. Through the power of the Spirit, the communicant, brought into mystical fellowship with the glorified humanity, receives the blessings mediated through the "flesh of Christ."

Calvin based the ultimate assurance of salvation on the will of God expressed in the election of the sinner to salvation. He put no trust in priestly declarations, in sacramental signs, or in mystic visions. Faith was a sign of election, for only the elect could believe. Election is further assured by the transformation of the individual and the social life, including soundness of doctrine and of morals. The Calvinist felt himself to be an organ through which the divine will is fulfilled, and the divine purpose on earth carried out. He has a deep sense of opposition to the world, and a firm resolve to resist and to conquer it. The Bible is for him a book of laws, the law of God, to rule his life. He must deny himself, and submit wholly to the will of God in all human relations. This is the essence of puritanism. Luther also was concerned about proof of justification, which he found in faith and in patient endurance of the ills and sorrows of life in this vale of tears. The hearing of the word and the use of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper strengthened faith in divine grace and confirmed the believer in the certainty of salvation. Luther stressed the religious side

of life, the peace of pardon and the joy of salvation. Calvin called men to action when he demanded strict conformity of the elect to the word of God, and the application of the word to the whole order of life. The Calvinists could not rest content with the enjoyment of divine sonship through grace, however fine that is. They felt the call to action, to glorify God. They dared to do and to die. They went forth into the wilderness as pioneers; they fought their battles to the tune of the Psalms; they defied kings, and bishops, and parliaments; and for the sovereignty of God they gave their lives. Calvin, in a letter to Farel, March, 1539,[7] says:

> If our calling (*vocatio*) is indeed of the Lord, as we firmly believe that it is, the Lord himself will bestow his blessing, although the whole universe may be opposed to us. Let us, therefore, try every remedy, while, if such is not to be found, let us, notwithstanding, persevere to the last gasp.

IV

Evangelical Protestantism was originally spirit and life in the Reformers, an experience of salvation with the dynamic of a new order in church and state. It was a revival of Paul's doctrine of grace, which freed him from Judaism and delivered them from Catholicism. They rejoiced in the freedom of the Christian man, emancipated from baseless superstitions, from the bondage of human opinions, from the tyranny of princes and bishops, from the fear of death and damnation. They were children and heirs of God, guided by his Spirit, trusting in his providence, serving one another in love, and rejoicing in hope. They pro-

[7] Bossuet, I. p. 131.

tested against Catholicism because in spirit they had passed beyond it. In practice, however, they were still influenced by it and could not wholly free themselves from it. They were men "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." Any one of them can be quoted against himself. None was capable of drawing all the inferences which were latent in his evangelical experience. This becomes evident in their sacramental views, their reversion to biblical literalism, their establishment of external authorities in religious matters, their introduction of metaphysical speculations in regard to the ubiquity of Christ's humanity and the predestination of the elect and the reprobate, their acceptance of traditional dogmas rooted in an experience of salvation wholly different from the Evangelical, their failure to distinguish gospel and theology,[8] their demand that the believer accept catechisms and confessions authoritatively promulgated under threat of civil penalities. These were Catholic tendencies not easily harmonized with the evangelical spirit.

Of course the Reformers were evangelical and far removed from Catholicism in their conception of salvation as solely and wholly the work of God, a personal experience wrought in the heart by the Spirit through the word, without priestly mediation. This experimental knowledge of the gracious will of God afforded them a certitude of salvation such as the Catholic Church did not presume to offer. Their motive for Christian living was free from the idea of merit, and was found in gratitude to God and in the

[8] Erasmus, in his "Hyperaspistes," (I.) charges Luther with modifying the scholastic theology with his own, *i.e.*, Luther's, but not with giving it up.— Zickendraht, "Erasmus und Luther," p. 63.

strong desire to glorify God by obedience to his word. *The evidences of reversion to Catholicism are the acceptance of doctrines without a personal experience of their contents; the approach to God through mediating institutions and officials; the equalizing in authority of the gospel and the government of the Church; the sacramental dispensation of grace in portions; the introduction of merit as a motive in worship and work.*

The followers of the Reformers, lacking personal experience and spiritual understanding of evangelical ideas, were controlled by tendencies that worked for a subtle Catholicizing of Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches. Eberlin von Günzburg complains that many imitate Luther's words and deeds, without sharing the conviction out of which they sprang.[9] The religion of the spirit became a religion of authority.

> The man who knows religion only as custom and law creates the priest, for the purpose of ridding himself of an essential part of the obligations which he feels by loading them upon him. He also makes ordinances, for the semi-religious prefer an ordinance.

In this respect there is a close resemblance between primitive Christianity in its transition to ancient Catholicism and the Christianity of the Reformers in its transition to the orthodox ecclesiasticism of the Protestant Churches. In both instances the change came about in the same way. The failure of the Gentile churches to understand Paul, though avowedly loyal to him, reminds one of the failure of the Lutherans to understand Luther, though professing an almost idolatrous devotion to him. The gradual decline of personal experience of saving grace was followed in

[9] Zickendraht, "Erasmus und Luther," p. 27.

both periods by reliance upon official declarations, institutional guarantees, and the infallible Bible. Faith in the mercy of God as revealed in Christ was reduced to assent to historical facts and dogmatic propositions about God and man. Trustful surrender to a living person who saves and sanctifies was turned into adherence to an institution entrusted with revealed doctrine and prescribed rules of life. The spontaneous service of love, motived by gratitude to God and concern for the welfare of men, became obedience to biblical or ecclesiastical precepts, in the hope of securing the promised reward. The sacraments were administered without regard to personal faith. The community of believers, directing its own affairs under the guidance of the Spirit, became a state church or a church state, controlled by princes, city councils, or presbyters, whose authority did not grow out of the priestly prerogatives of the believers. One is reminded, on the one hand, of Constantine's state church and the provincial churches of Germany, and, on the other, of the church state of Hildebrandt and the theocracy of Calvin at Geneva.

The faith and life of the Christians are controlled by law, dissent from which is met with ecclesiastical and civil penalties. The Bible and the Confession of Faith are considered equivalent, equally authoritative.[10] To differ from the one or the other is sin against God and crime against the government. The Bible is declared to be an infallible and divinely dictated oracle, inerrant in all its statements,—historical, scientific, moral, religious,—even to the vowel points of

[10] The *Presbyterian*, March 18, 1920, Editorial, p. 7. "The Bible and the Confession (The Westminster)—which is a summary of the Bible—were given for every age and every clime."

the Hebrew text.[11] A *damnamus*[12] is pronounced against all opponents, whether in the fourth, or in the seventeenth century. Original religious, and even scientific, investigation is held in check by dogmatic authority and traditional opinion. Harnack defines the Catholic Church as "the Church of apostolic tradition fixed by law." If that be correct, the Protestant Churches underwent a subtle Catholicizing process, without installing the Pope or the Mass. They became the Churches of Lutheran and Calvinistic tradition fixed by law. When religion of any kind becomes doctrine and law, held apart from personal experience and accepted merely as a tradition, without spiritual apprehension of the objective realities, it has the essential elements of Catholicism.

The organization of new churches, whether state churches or dissenting sects, hastened and hardened the Catholicizing process. The situation was not unlike that of the Church in the second century. Then Christianity in its apostolic form was jeopardized by gnosticism, montanism, and a cruder or a more refined paganism. To maintain its original heritage and to ward off deleterious innovations, the Church set up visible and tangible standards, which served as assurances of continuity with the apostles, as bonds of unity, and as safeguards against heresy and schism. They were the Rule of Faith, the Canon of Scripture, and the Episcopal Office. The promulgation of these tests of catholicity was both a loss and a gain: a loss of original

[11] Formula Consensus Helvetica, 2–3.

[12] Tschackert, "Entstehung der Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirchenlehre," pp. 372–380. The candidate for ordination was to repeat the following as part of his vow: "I curse and damn Zwingli with all his associates, who teach and write differently from these articles, as heretics and dissenters." See, also, The Second Helvetic Confession (1529), Schaff, "Creeds, etc.," p. 257.

freedom, spirituality, and spontaneity; a gain in solidarity, authority, and united action. It was the only way to save the Church, and yet the Church was saved at the expense of religious freedom.

The Lutheran and the Reformed Churches had to guard against Romanism, anabaptism, and rationalism. This could be done only by clearly defined doctrines, modes of worship, forms of government, and ways of life. These were prepared and published with ecclesiastical and civil authority in the form of Church Orders, German, Swiss, Dutch, English, and Scotch. Like the ancient Catholic standards, the Orders of each church were given high authority, sometimes equal to the Bible. Without these the Protestant Churches could not have become potent factors in national life, nor have shaped historical movements in the modern age.

Yet they were not an unmixed blessing. They bred the spirit of denominationalism, with its brood of ills. Each denomination or sect claimed to have the divinely revealed doctrine or government, or both. Each accepted its church order as a transcript from the Bible, and therefore claimed to be the legitimate church of the living God. This is the fontal source of dogmatic intolerance, sectarian bigotry, polemical controversies, and zealous proselyting. The conditions of salvation were made grievous to be met. Being saved was tantamount to accepting an elaborate confession, a theory and mode of baptism, a form of church government, a definition of the Lord's Supper, a theory of ministerial authority, and confessions of faith which none could break with impunity. Ministers and teachers of the churches were bound by ordination vows; churches took a damnatory attitude toward one an-

other, or toward heretics of their own. The wrath of theologians was aroused by disputes over refined speculations on the mysteries of predestination, justification, regeneration, atonement, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Dogmatic formulas, or church polity of one kind or another, became conditions of salvation; for which there was little hope beyond the bounds of a particular church or sect. This tendency is traced by historians to the division of Protestantism through the disagreement of Luther and Zwingli. "There appeared," says Ziegler,[13] "a certain hardening and ossification, a dogmatism in Luther himself, which continued for centuries in his church and has not been cast off to this day."

The Formula of Concord (1580) marks the close of the confessional development of the Lutheran Church. In it "gospel" is defined as "doctrine which teaches what the sinner ought to believe."[14] At another place, however, faith is still described as "trust alone in the Lord Christ." But the tendency to magnify the intellectual and doctrinal element in the gospel is predominant, and the Lutheran Church is rapidly turning into a school of sound doctrine. Referring to the definition of "gospel," Möller-Kawerau says: "This sentence clearly shows the change which Luther's doctrine of faith has undergone." Professor Loofs sees in the Formula of Concord and the Book of Concord "the doctrinaire hardening of the reformatory ideas come to consummation."[15] Tschackert, in his estimate of the Formula of Concord, says it is to be

[13] "Ethik," p. 440.
[14] Möller-Kawerau, K. G. III. p. 268.
[15] "Doktrinäre Erstarrung des reformatorishen Gedanken zum Abschluss gekommen." D. G. 4, p. 927.

deplored that "the authors have given it the value of a law of doctrine for the future." [16]

In the Reformed Churches conditions were about the same. Doctrinal legalism prevailed in the Synod of Dort (1619). The earlier devotion of the Reformed Churches to the Bible was followed by a period of scholasticism [17] and polemical controversy, similar to that in the Lutheran Church. Max Goebel speaks of the rise of orthodoxy, through which "Reformed theology received a polemical tendency, and theologians were prone to appeal to symbolical books rather than to the Bible, to scholastic formulas rather than to simple evangelical truth, to cultivate right belief rather than to faith working in love." [18]

The conflict between Anglicans and Puritans in England promoted an autocratic ecclesiasticism on the one side, and a rigid confessionalism on the other. The former has come down to us in the claims of apostolic succession, and the latter in the highly metaphysical and theological orthodoxy of the Westminster Standards.

What has this to do with the way of salvation? Much in every way. In a Catholicized Protestantism the simplicity and the spirituality of the saving process are either obscured or lost. Whether we turn to the apostolic communities or to the Reformers in the sixteenth century, we find that salvation is a personal, vital, experimental, and spiritual process. The process is often retarded and made difficult by confounding the results of salvation with the cause of salvation.

[16] "Ihm die Bedeutung eines Lehrgesetzes für die Zukunft gegeben haben ist bedauerlich."—"Entstehung der Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirchenlehre," p. 572.
[17] Dorner, "History of Protestant Theology," Eng. trans., II. p. 10.
[18] Goebel, "Gesch. des Chris. Lebens," II. p. 140.

Doctrines about God, Christ, man, and the future life, carefully thought out; institutions through which the community of the saved worship and work; official persons and acts, sacraments, rites and ordinances, which symbolize and confirm in audible and visible ways the fact and the blessings of salvation; rules of conduct often differing widely in different churches;—all these are not the cause or essential factors of salvation. They are the outcome—the doctrinal, institutional, æsthetic, and moral expressions—of salvation. *The failure to recognize this distinction is the primary cause of denominationalism and sectarianism, sufficiently strong to prevent the union of Protestant Churches at the present time.*

The Evangelical Churches of the United States are still largely bound by the confessional orthodoxy and the ecclesiasticism of the seventeenth century. They believe in an inerrant Bible, as they did then, and one of the cardinal virtues of a Christian is to believe the Bible from cover to cover. Among many Christians there seems to be no thought of a distinction between assent to the contents of sixty-six books, and faith in God as revealed in Christ,—complete surrender to a Christlike God. Ever and anon there are discouraging evidences of an almost hopeless reaction to an unethical, and above all an unnecessary, bibliolatry and confessionalism. Nothing is quite so sad as the premillenarian propaganda and the quadrilateral of the fundamentalists. The inerrant Bible, the Deity of Christ, the Blood Atonement, and the imminency of the personal visible return of Christ are made the substance of the gospel. What a hopeless confusion of gospel and dogma! What a burdening of an intelligent Christian conscience with things which may all

be true, but which do not enter vitally into the saving experience of Jesus Christ!

In the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1910, page 272, a deliverance is recorded which reminds one of a modernized set of "Five Points" of Calvinism.

The Committee on Bills and Overtures to the General Assembly makes "a declaration with regard to certain *essential* and *necessary* articles of faith, to wit:

1. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our Standards, that the Holy Spirit did so inspire, and guide and move the writers of the Holy Scriptures as to keep them from error. (The "Confession" quoted, Cap. I, sec. 10.)

2. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our Standards, that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. ("Shorter Catechism," Question 22, quoted.)

3. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our Standards, that Christ offered up 'himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice, and to reconcile us to God.' (Text quoted, I Peter 3:18; and "Catechism," question 25, referred to.)

4. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our Standards, concerning our Lord Jesus, that 'on the third day he arose from the dead, with the same body in which he suffered; with which also he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making intercession.' (See "Confession," Chap. VIII, sec. 4.)

5. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God as the supreme Standard of our faith, that the Lord Jesus showed his power and love by working mighty miracles. This working was not contrary to nature, but superior to it. (Quote Matt. 9:35.) These great wonders were signs of the divine power of our Lord, making changes in the order of nature. They were equally examples to his Church, of charity and good will to all mankind.

These five articles of faith are declared to be "essential and necessary." They may be summarized as follows:

(1) Inerrancy of the Bible; (2) Virgin Birth; (3) Satisfaction Theory of Atonement; (4) Resurrection of Jesus, "with the same body in which He suffered"; (5) Authenticity of miracles.

Belief in these points is declared to be "essential and necessary"; for what? Clearly for nothing else but salvation. But if so, these "essential and necessary" articles impose conditions for salvation and for fidelity to Christ about most of which neither Jesus nor Paul said anything, and which exceed those required by Catholicism or original Protestantism.

One is amazed that, in these "essential and necessary articles of faith," not a word is said of justification by grace through faith, which is the distinctive principle of Evangelical Christianity and differentiates it from Catholicism, on the one hand, and from rationalism, on the other. Indeed, a devout Catholic might heartily accept these five articles without surrendering any of the essentials of his faith, and any man might subscribe to all of them without having a spark of experimental Christianity.

It is with some sense of relief that one turns to the Minutes of the Assembly of the next year (1911) to find the following declaration:

> The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., gathered in General Assembly, hereby solemnly declares and reaffirms, in loyalty to the Great Head of the Church Universal, that the only conditions of admission to the Church are, a profession of faith in Christ and obedience to Him, followed by baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.[19]

Whether this action is an indication of a more liberal tendency, or a palliative for the stringent dec-

[19] Minutes of General Assembly, 1911, p. 242.

laration of "certain essential and necessary articles of faith" of the previous year, we are not told. Whatever the intention may have been, it seems perfectly clear that the two Declarations cannot be reconciled, and that the latter, relating to conditions of church membership, takes the heart out of the former, defining the "essential and necessary articles of faith."

We have no quarrel with the five points of the Declaration of 1910 as such; they may be all true, but we do protest vigorously against making them tests of church membership, by declaring them "essential and necessary." A better evidence of a Catholicized Christianity, though the Pope be denounced as Antichrist, is hard to find.

But closer examination will convince one that the position of the Presbyterian Church is held, in one form or another, by all the Protestant Churches, though not by all Protestants. The Baptists consider baptism by immersion, the Episcopalians apostolic succession and ordination by Bishops, the Lutherans their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as essential and necessary. Which of these Churches would Paul join, were he to return upon the earth? and which has found the evangelical way of salvation?

Positions like these, in reference to articles of faith, are still taught by representative men in theological seminaries. In the *Presbyterian*, June 10, 1920, a distinguished professor [20] in the Princeton Theological Seminary wrote as follows:

> Is the Westminster Confession a purely denominational affair? It is a purely denominational affair to those who believe that it is merely one expression of the progressive Christian consciousness. That is the point of view of the

[20] Professor J. G. Machem.

Plan of Union. It is not a purely denominational affair to those who believe it to be true. Those who believe it to be true will never be satisfied until it has been accepted by the whole world, and will never consent to be limited in the propagation of it by any church or union of churches whatsoever.

Jesus marveled at the faith of the centurion; what would he do at the naïve credulity of the Princeton Professor?

While this condition prevails, to talk of church union is a mere waste of words; to attempt to reconcile Christianity and modern culture is a futile task. To expect to keep the rising generations, who are taught the results of science and trained to think of the universe in a scientific way, true to outworn traditions of the Church, is to ignore the requirements of reason and conscience. Clearly there is a great task before the Protestant ministers and teachers. That task is to show men the Evangelical way of salvation.

CHAPTER X

THE WAY OF THE HUMANISTS

I

HUMANISM in principle is a distinctive mental and moral attitude and disposition toward the ultimate realities of life,—God, man, and the world. It assumes the might and the right of the individual to work out his destiny without reliance upon superhuman aid. Given the world as it is and the natural endowments of the human race, man can make his life in all its relations what it ought to be. He has native ability to think and to act for himself, and, therefore, to be the creator of his own destiny. He has power to save himself from the limitations and the evil of the world and of his own nature, and by dint of intellect and will to attain perfection of character.

Humanism, in the words of Protagoras, makes "man the measure of all things." It strives passionately to give to life a spiritual content of man's own choosing, and puts man in the center of his thinking, so as to relate all science and literature to human life and its purposes. The cardinal article of its creed is the perfectibility of man without help from above.

Humanism does not belong to any particular age or nation, but is a spirit that to some extent pervades every age and people. It is found in savagery and barbarism, and reaches its highest development and

expression in the enlightened nations, especially of the Western world. As men advance in culture, they feel less the need of superhuman agencies, and become self-sufficient and independent. Mr. Bury says:

> Religion is gradually becoming less indispensable. The further we go back in the past, the more valuable is religion as an element in civilization; as we advance, it retreats more and more into the background, to be replaced by science.[1]

This view, however, is by no means supported by most modern sociologists, not to speak of the theologians.[2]

The characteristics of humanism appear more clearly by way of contrast. It is the direct opposite of supernaturalism, which separates God and man to such an extent that man is considered helpless, save as he is the recipient of truth, virtue, and happiness from above. He is worthless unless he becomes an object and a vessel of divine grace. To the humanist both nature and man are valuable and beautiful for their own sake, the recognition of which is the charm of the ancient classics.

Humanism is a protest against other-worldliness: its interest is here, not beyond the stars. It sets for itself the task of subduing the earth, controlling the forces of nature, discovering and exploring unknown lands. The joy of life is in overcoming life's difficulties, solving life's problems, and making the desert blossom as the rose. This "vale of tears" is turned into a field of action for the harmonious development and disciplining of all the latent tendencies and powers of men, with true and free personality as the supreme aim

[1] "History of Freedom of Thought," p. 229.
[2] See Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," pp. 59–64.

and end. The humanist's ideal of life is, therefore, not self-denial and self-suppression, but self-affirmation and self-expression.

Humanism refuses to submit to domineering authority, intellectual, political, social, or ecclesiastical. It seeks to emancipate itself from traditions and dogmas of church and state, and does not shrink from putting to the test of rational criticism the most venerable rules of conduct, ways of thinking, and modes of government. Forms—which ostensibly are a means of access to reality, but actually prove to be barriers—are readily discarded. There is nothing that the humanist fears to face; nothing that he does not attempt to recast according to his own ideas.

In scholarship humanism puts the *litteræ humaniores* in place of the *litteræ diviniores,* prefers the arts and sciences to theology and dogmas, and turns to nature and historical sources instead of to authorities and traditions. It is ready to appropriate all knowledge from every source, and to enjoy all beauty wherever found. It glories in achievements, in dominion and fame, and with an unblushing egotism accepts self-affirmation, self-confidence, and self-advancement as the legitimate aim of life. The ruler is proud of his power, the statesman of his diplomacy and eloquence, the poet or sculptor of the mastery of his art, the gentleman in society of his graceful manner and his æsthetic and social accomplishments.

In religion humanism always stresses the ability of the natural man in the process of salvation. He may attempt to save himself without the help of the divine, or he may depend partly on himself and partly on God, but the human factor always plays a prominent part. Salvation by free grace the humanist cannot under-

stand, nor does he appreciate the fact that "to make humanity the measure of goodness and truth is inwardly to destroy both."

Amiel [3] says:

> Christianity brings and preaches salvation by the conversion of the will,—humanism by the emancipation of the mind. One attacks the heart, the other the brain. Both wish to enable man to reach his ideal. But the ideal differs, if not by its content, at least by the disposition of its content, by the predominance and sovereignty given to this or that inner power. For one, the mind is the organ of the soul; for the other, the soul is an inferior state of the mind; the one wishes to enlighten by making better, the other to make better by enlightening. It is the difference between Socrates and Jesus. . . . The negative part of the humanist's work is good; it will strip Christianity of an outer shell, which has become superfluous; but Ruge and Feuerbach cannot save humanity.

Humanism reached its highest development in Greece. Of all the nations of antiquity, the Greeks were the most zealous for the intellectual mastery of nature, history, art, literature, ethics, and politics. Their theory of life was, that man is to know and to do: his action is to be controlled by knowledge, and his knowledge is to complete itself in action. They thought of the whole realm of being as controlled by law, which man is to discover and to which he is to conform. A fragment of Euripides speaks of a man as "happy, who has learned to search into causes," and "who discerns the deathless and ageless order of nature, whence it arose, the how and the why." [4] In the later stage of his religious development the Greek was disposed to seek salvation by the way of self-conquest

[3] *Journal*, April 7, 1851, pp. 15–16. Translation by Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

[4] Quoted by Butcher, "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius," p. 10.

of the will guided by the reason. This was the Greek ideal from Socrates onward. To live normally is to live in harmony with the transcendent reason, and to be in the way of redemption.

When the intellect and the will of men are suppressed by political, religious, or scholastic authority, the spirit of humanism rises in revolt and demands freedom to work out life in one's own way. There was such a revolt in Greece in the fifth century, when the Sophists, who were followed by Socrates, affirmed a rational, over against a mythological, view of the world. They entered vigorous protest against the domination of pedantic, abstruse, and sterile speculations without basis in fact or reason. This movement in Greece was followed, long afterwards, in the middle age, by a similar uprising of the reason and conscience. This later movement was a protest against traditionalism, dogmatism, and tyranny in the form of medieval imperialism and papacy. It was inspired in part by the revival of Greek letters and the classic ideals of life. The humanist went backward to go forward, backward to Greece and Palestine to go forward into individualism, nationalism, and denominationalism. He became a reformer in church and state, and prepared the way for a new era in history. Among the humanists of the fifteenth century there were pagans, Catholics, and Evangelicals, each with a distinctive conception of life and of religion. The rationalists of the eighteenth century were the lineal descendants of the humanists of the fifteenth; and to-day, perhaps more than ever, men are controlled by their ideals.

It is our purpose to show how, in the history of Christianity, the idea of salvation was affected by the humanistic spirit.

II

Two types of interpretation of Christianity, growing out of different conceptions of the way of salvation, run parallel in the history of the Church from apostolic to modern days. The one may be termed humanistic, and the other evangelical. The Catholic is a compromise between the two, resulting in legalism and sacramentalism under the control of sacerdotalism. The compromise becomes evident in the doctrine of salvation by faith and works, by grace and law, which becomes the formative principle in every detail of Catholic ecclesiasticism.

The humanist groups, each more or less directly related to the others and all of them together maintaining a continuity through the centuries, are the Jewish Christians, the Arians, the Pelagians, the Erasmians, the Socinians, the Rationalists, and the Unitarians. Of these the Arians, the Pelagians, and the Erasmians leaned toward Catholicism; the Jewish Christians were pre-Catholic; the Socinians, the Rationalists, and the Unitarians were aggressively anti-Catholic.

The parallel groups, more or less evangelical, were the Pauline Christians, the Athanasians, the Augustinians, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the Wesleyans and the modern evangelicals. Of these the Pauline Christians were pre-Catholic; the Athanasians and Augustinians were pro-Catholic; the Lutherans, Calvinists, Wesleyans, and modern Evangelicals were anti-Catholic. Of the two groups of Christianity, the humanistic has always been considered heterodox and the evangelical orthodox; and the humanists have

always been in the minority, and the evangelicals in the majority.

The point at issue between the two (and here it will be convenient to compare with them the third type, the Catholic), is raised in the question, What must I do to be saved? This was naturally the first question to arise in the early Christian community, and then already it divided, rather than united, the fellowship of the original disciples. Ever since that time it has been a live issue in the Church: indeed, the great controversies and divisions of the several ages grew out of the difference in the answers to this fundamental question. Different answers involved conflicting views of the person and work of Christ, of the nature and character of God, and of the motive of the Christian life.

Whether the way of salvation is to be classed as humanistic, catholic, or evangelical, depends upon the relative parts given to divine grace and human merit in the redemptive process. Which of the two factors predominates, the divine or the human? Is the initiative for salvation in God, or in man? Is salvation an act of God for man, or an act of man for God? or, is it partly of God and partly of man? Which is primary, human merit or divine grace, morality or religion, the ability or the depravity of man, human freedom or divine election, works or faith, law or love, reward or gift? Is Jesus lawgiver and example, or Savior and Lord? Is there unity, or trinity, in the Deity? Do we live the Christian life in order *to be saved,* or because *we are saved?* In other words is character the cause, or is it the effect, of salvation?

All these questions were involved, though by no

means clearly comprehended, in the controversy between Paul and the Jewish Christians.

III

The latter resolved Christianity into a revised and improved Judaism blending the law of Moses and the gospel in a way of salvation by works and faith. Paul, on the contrary, proclaimed Christianity as a new way of salvation, superseding the way of Moses, when he boldly declared that "Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth" (Romans 10:4). Here are two ways which cannot be reconciled, and bitter controversy between those who hold them is bound to follow. The story of such controversy is written over a large part of the New Testament.

The occasion for strife was Paul's Gentile mission; mutterings of it, however, were heard almost from the beginning. Certain men, we are told, came from Judea to Antioch, where the gospel was first preached to the Greeks also (Acts 11:20), and taught the brethren, saying, "Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye can not be saved" (Acts 15:1). When Paul and Barnabas, by appointment of the brethren, brought the question before the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, they found formidable advocates of the Mosaic requirement: "there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying, It is needful to circumcise them [the Gentiles] and to charge them to keep the law of Moses" (Acts 15:5). The members of this group are referred to in the epistle to the Galatians as "false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty" (2:4). Even Peter and Barnabas began to dissemble, "fearing

them that were of the circumcision." Then Paul arose, as a man in wrath, and said: "We being Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law" (Galatians 2:15, 16).

Thus the issue was clearly stated between humanism or compromising Catholicism on the one hand, and evangelicalism on the other. Two distinct ways of salvation were advanced; and these, in one form or another, have divided Christians ever since. The one gives preëminence to the will of man, obedience to law, and salvation as a reward of merit. The other depends wholly upon divine grace, appropriated by faith, and accepts salvation as a free gift and not as a reward. The Jewish Christians reduced Jesus to a lawgiver and an example, a new Moses; continued to worship God as the one supreme being, dwelling in solitude far removed from men; and lived the Christian life, not because they were saved, but in order that they might be saved. They were servants working for wages; the Pauline Christians were sons rejoicing in an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away.

Paul was among the first to proclaim Jesus as Lord and God. He beheld in his face the glory of the Father. He experienced the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Spirit (II Corinthians 13:14).[5] He lived his life as a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the redemption which

[5] It is worth mentioning here that Harnack says: "The confession of Father, Son, and Spirit has nothing to do with Greek philosophy or any other philosophy or 'wisdom'; it already belongs to the earliest church; it is the essence of the Christian religion in its

he freely received. It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me (Galatians 2:20).

About the time of Paul, or in the generation following him, there grew up on Gentile soil another group of legalists. It was composed of converts of the Jews of the dispersion and of the Gentiles. They were in spirit closely related to the Jewish Christians, and yet were influenced by the universalism of Paul, without comprehending his doctrine of salvation by grace. They were quite ready to give up the ceremonial and sacrificial laws, and to resolve Christianity into a divinely revealed way of life blending the moral law of the Old Testament and the teachings of Jesus. The gospel, accordingly, was to be proclaimed to all men as a revelation of the supreme God, a divine law of life, and an assurance of final judgment with rewards for the just and punishment for the wicked. Jesus was regarded as Messiah because he was the revealer of the law and the judge of men. This was a compromise between law and gospel which might be equally attractive to the liberal Jew and the Stoic philosopher, and which became the basis of ancient Catholicism. It appropriated the terminology of Paul, without passing through his experience of salvation, in the light of which his epistles must be explained. The congregation at Rome was of this group; and, apparently, the great majority of Christians in Gentile lands in the second century.

At the close of this century these two types, the one teaching salvation as a reward of obedience, the other as the transformation of man's nature by divine grace, were fused in the teachings of Irenaeus, who

objective aspect, and it marks the severance of Christianity from Judaism."—"Constitution and Law of the Church," p. 252, footnote.

made both elements necessary for salvation. Thus he laid the foundation of the theology and the sacramental mysteries and the penitential discipline of the Catholic Church.

IV

The controversy between Paul and the Jewish Christians was twice fought over in the ancient Church, amidst different surroundings, at different times, and by different men. The first time the battle royal was waged by Athanasius against Arius in the fourth century; the second time by Augustine against Pelagius in the fifth century. At bottom the issue was the same, —whether salvation was primarily a work of God, or a work of man.

On the surface, the point in dispute between Athanasius and Arius was the relation of the Logos incarnate to the supreme God. Was Christ essentially God, or was he a creature of God? This question itself grew out of the conception of redemption, and upon the answer depended the character of Christianity,—whether it was a religion of salvation, or a system of ethical culture.

If Jesus, as Arius held, gradually became God, or, in other words, if he was "a developing, struggling Christ," then he could not rise to the height of a Redeemer, but remained on the plane of a teacher and example, with the aid of whose precept and practice men were to save themselves. The christology of Arius is the logical outcome of his soteriology. As teacher and example Jesus need not be more than a creature, the highest of all creatures. And if he is a creature, the Creator is one, and the trinitarian problem does not arise.

Athanasius proclaims his message in a single statement,—which became the rock upon which he built his faith and life,—*in Christ God himself entered humanity.* This view of Jesus was indispensable, if he was to be an efficient Savior. It was required by the Greek conception of redemption. For God alone, in human nature, can deliver man from the mortal estate into which he has fallen through sin, and transform him into the state of immortality. The Pauline idea was preserved, though under a greatly modified form, that men *are saved* by God in Christ,—that salvation is a work of God and not an attainment of man. Harnack says:

> Athanasius saved the faith of the Church from complete secularization by reaffirming the old conviction that men are redeemed by God himself, through the Godman, one in essence with God. While his doctrine of Christ and God was not rational, and was regarded by the Greeks as a stumbling block, he nevertheless kept Christianity from becoming a mere philosophy and a code of morals, i.e., from complete Hellenization.[6]

Jesus is more than example or teacher: he is Savior, and imparts to men a new life which enables them to imitate the example of the teacher, and to understand and obey him. According to Athanasius, Jesus belongs in every sense to the sphere of God, whose substance he shares; and the trinitarian definition of God is the necessary outcome of his conception of salvation. That is, the doctrine of the Trinity is an experience of salvation by God in Christ, before it is wrought into a formula in the language of the redeemed.

When we pass from the fourth century to the fifth, and from Greece to the Latin West, we find a renewal

[6] "Grundriss der D. G.," p. 161.

of the Arian controversy by different persons, in a different language, and in the sphere of soteriology. The two protagonists, Augustine and Pelagius, were widely apart in temper and experience, though equally devoted to the cause of Christ and the Church. The disputation revolved around the grace of God, and the ability and freedom of man, in the process of salvation. Pelagius affirmed man's ability; Augustine, his depravity. Pelagius made salvation depend on human effort, Augustine on divine grace. Pelagius held that God's grace in Christ was not absolutely necessary, before and after baptism, for the salvation of every man. This position was denied by Augustine, and was generally rejected by the Church, though in a modified form it lived on in Catholicism.

Pelagius failed to comprehend the nature of grace, and, therefore, also of sin. He was controlled by the idea that the grace of God amounted to the gift of free will to man, a gift which was impaired by sin but not destroyed. Man was to develop it by constant exercise in righteousness under the oversight and discipline of the Church. Pelagius "abandoned in spite of all accommodations in expression the pole of the mystical doctrine of redemption which the Church had steadfastly maintained side by side with the doctrine of freedom." [7]

The fundamental notion of Augustine was the depravity and helplessness of man through the Fall, and the necessity of divine grace through Christ, for the salvation of the sinner and for the sanctification of the saved.

It is clear that the christology and theology of Arius correspond to the soteriology of Pelagius, while the

[7] Harnack, "History of Dogma," Eng. trans., V. p. 203.

christology and theology of Athanasius correspond to the soteriology of Augustine. The doctrine of the deity of Jesus and the trinity of the Deity is inseparably related to the experience of redemption by divine grace. Yet one must not forget that the Pauline views of both Athanasius and Augustine were seriously modified and neutralized by Catholic ideas which were far removed from Paul.

V

The term humanism is generally applied to the literary, artistic, and religious movement beginning in Italy, and spreading over Western Europe in the period extending from the thirteenth into the sixteenth century. This was the time of transition from the medieval to the modern age. There was a revival of the ancient classics, a decline of absolutism in church and state, an emancipation of the individual, and an affirmation of men to think, to act, and to live in the light of reason and conscience. It was a plea for a return to nature, long before Rousseau raised the cry.

Naturally, in a period like this men of various types are produced, some radical, some mediating, and some conservative.

The radicals were inclined to cut loose from the Church and the traditions of the past, and to live their lives without regard for religious, ethical, or social sanctions. They were sufficient unto themselves. They were neo-pagans who turned their liberty into license, and revived not only the virtues, but also the vices, of the ancients. They were both free thinkers and loose livers. Their art was degraded by their sensuality, and their knowledge was turned into

pedantry. In letters they indulged in stilted rhetoric and fulsome panegyric. They lacked both moral zeal and spiritual power to cure the deep-seated ills of their time.

There were others, however, who united culture and religion, and sincerely worked for a reform of the Church from head to members. Some of these remained in the Catholic Church, prince among whom was Erasmus, and others cast their lot with evangelical Reformers, notably Melanchthon and Leo Jude. The Catholic humanists were scholars, poets, artists, historians, philologists; and sought a reconciliation of human learning and divine revelation, of the philosophy of the Greeks and the doctrines of the Church. They founded Platonic academies in Italy, and men like Cardinal Bessarion, Marsiglio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, took pride in being Christian Platonists. In this group were men whose purpose it was to reform the Church by reviving and restoring the doctrines and institutions of the apostles and the ancient Fathers. Their slogan was *ad fontes*—to the sources, back to nature, back to the classics, back to the Bible and the Fathers. In all this they revealed a new attitude of mind toward religion and reality in general. They were in quest of internal conviction of truth, in place of servile submission to external authority. They aimed to put personal and experimental religion, flowing from direct contact with the source of it, in place of dogmas and ordinances supernaturally attested. Their reform, however, was to be wrought gradually by illumination, not violently by revolution. While Erasmus was easily the leader of them all, he was supported by Colet and More in England, Buddæus and Lefèvre in France, and by Staupitz, Thomas

Mürner, Jerome Emser, Conrad Mutianus, and George Spalatin in Germany.

The evangelical humanists were men of the new learning who left the Roman Church and associated with Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. Among them were Melanchthon, Leo Jude, and a number of notable French, German, and Swiss scholars.

Hitherto, as we have seen, humanism in Christianity was either pre-Catholic, pro-Catholic, or anti-Catholic. With the rise of the evangelical Reformers it became necessary to differentiate between Evangelicalism and Humanism,—a distinction which has to be made always, if evangelical Christianity is to continue true to its original ideals. In many points the Reformers agreed with the humanists and were deeply indebted to them, yet in spirit they differed from them to such a degree that in time the two had to part company and go their several ways.

There is, after all is said, a wide difference between an evangelical reformer and a humanistic purifier of the Church,—a difference which the humanist usually fails to understand. He depends upon scholarship, historical knowledge, philosophical reflection, and moral precepts, to reform church and state: he would reform by education and culture. Erasmus furnishes a brilliant example of the strength and the weakness of reform based upon mere scholarship and culture. A criticism of religion and a revision of doctrine and life, without a new vision of God and a closer fellowship with him, inevitably end in rationalism and moralism, without actual advance to a higher and better order of life.

The Reformers differed fundamentally from the humanists in their response to the deepest needs of the

soul,—the need of man's justification before God and God's justification before man. The former had a deep sense of man's insufficiency and of his dependence upon God; the latter had a proud feeling of man's self-sufficiency and his independence of God. The Reformation was essentially a religious movement, and was led by prophets; humanism was essentially a philosophical and æsthetic movement, and was led by scholars and artists. The Reformers went out of the Catholic Church because it failed to satisfy their religious needs. The humanists ignored the Catholic Church because they had no religious needs to satisfy. The Reformers felt the need of a savior; the humanists felt no need of a savior, because they could save themselves. The one could not, without self-stultification, remain in the Catholic Church; the other, to save himself from irksome annoyances, readily acquiesced in the established order, but lived his life unrestrained by its laws and customs.

The evangelical Reformers were forced to separate themselves from the two wings of religious humanism: from the one represented by Erasmus, who was an avowed Catholic; and from the other represented by Socinians, who were staunch Protestants but not evangelical. The issue in controversy with both these forms of humanism was the way of salvation.

After long hesitation Erasmus yielded to the urgent solicitations of his friends and patrons,—the pope, the emperor, King Henry VIII,—and his literary colleagues, and declared himself against Luther. He directed his attack against the point which undoubtedly determines the ultimate difference between evangelical Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, namely, the part the human will plays in salvation. His tract

against Luther was, accordingly, entitled, *De libero arbitrio,* "On the Freedom of the Will." Luther, in his emphasis on total depravity and the efficacy of divine grace alone, went so far as to say that "all works of the saints are sins; free will is an empty name; by faith alone are we justified." [8] Statements like these Erasmus called *aenigmata absurda,* absurd enigmas. In his tract he claimed that a man is free to accept or to reject the grace of God; that grace does not supersede, but stimulates, man's will. Thus he tried to find a middle way between Manichean fatalism and Pelagian self-sufficiency. He concluded that grace is in the beginning and in the end, while free-will is in the middle, of the process of salvation. In other words, Erasmus reduced salvation to an act of man, assisted by the grace of God offered in Christ through the Church.

Luther replied in a tract entitled, *De servo arbitrio,* —in German translation, *Das der Freie Wille nichts sei,*—that "there is no free will." He held that the will of man is not capable of any good. "On account of this evil in man," he says, "he can do absolutely nothing for his own salvation; everything is from God. To assert anything else is Pelagianism. Man is passive, God alone is active. There is no middle ground. Either that or Pelagianism. Besides, anything else destroys the certainty of salvation. We can never know when we have done enough, unless all comes from God; but the ever all-working God is the sure rock of our salvation." [9]

Salvation, according to Luther, is an act of God

[8] Omnia opera sanctorum esse peccata; liberum arbitrium esse nomen inane; sola fide justificari.
[9] Quoted by Faulkner, "Erasmus," p. 175.

through Christ in behalf of sinful man, and is appropriated by faith alone. This conviction he reached through a study of Paul's writings and through his own experience of salvation. Erasmus he considered a pagan and an epicurean.[10] This is the essence of evangelical Christianity; and from this standpoint it must always view, criticize, and protest against, all kinds and degrees of humanism.

As far as his way of salvation is concerned, Erasmus might as well have joined with the Socinians as with the Catholics. He was a humanist with Catholic sympathies, but at a later day he might easily have become a Unitarian with evangelical inclinations. Froude, in his "Life and Letters of Erasmus," says: "His dream was a return to early Christianity as it was before councils had laid the minds of men in chains; a Christianity of practice, not of opinion, where the Church itself might leave the intellect free to think as it pleased on the inscrutable mysteries." [11] The humanistic character of Erasmus' interpretation of Christianity is clearly defined by Professor McGiffert when he says:

> To Erasmus Christianity was primarily an ethical system; Christ was its great teacher and exemplar; to be a Christian meant to conduct one's life in accordance with the principles which governed him. Jesus appeared in the rôle of a sage, and Christianity under the aspect of a moral philosophy rather than a religion of redemption. . . . The all important thing is love for one's fellows, manifesting itself in charity, sympathy, and forbearance.[12]

[10] In his Table-Talk Luther once said: "Res et verba Phillipus, verba sine re Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carolostadius."

[11] P. 206.

[12] "Protestant Thought before Kant," p. 11.

VI

Another form of Christian humanism developed in Italy under the leadership of men who came to be known as anti-trinitarians. They were highly educated physicians, lawyers, and teachers, belonging to humanistic circles and influenced by Neoplatonism. The most prominent among them were Camillo, Renato, Gentili, Gribaldo, Occhino, Alciato, Blandrata, Lælius and Faustus Socinus, and Servetus, who was a Spaniard. They were bent on the reform of the Church, and were not content with a protest against the ignorance and immorality of clergy and people, but undertook a drastic criticism of the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, notably the trinity, the person of Christ, and the atonement. They discussed these grave questions in secret meetings, and at one of these, held in Venice, September, 1550, with sixty deputies present, they agreed on two propositions, as follows: (1) Christ is not God, but man, begotten of Joseph and Mary, but full of divine power; (2) Christ died to attain the righteousness of God, *i.e.*, to reach the height of his goodness, mercy, and promises.[13] In their doctrine of Christ they wavered between Arianism, Adoptionism, and Sabellianism.

The movement represents an intellectual criticism of dogma, without a new religious experience warranting criticism. It proceeded from Luther's sense of the insufficiency and corruption of the Church, but, because it lacked his religious experience, it ended in rationalism and moralism, without an actual advance beyond Catholicism. There was a total lack of appreciation of the spiritual values of ancient dogmas,

[13] Möller-Kawerau, K. G. III. pp. 464, 465.

and accordingly not only the intellectual formulation but the spiritual content was set aside.

Professor Lindsay says of the men of this group:

> They were all men who had been driven to reject the Roman Church because of its corruptions and immoralities, and who had no conception of any other universal Christian society. Men of pure lives, pious after their own fashion, they never had any idea of what lay at the root of the Reformation thought, of what real religion was. It never dawned on them that the sum of Christianity is the God of grace, manifest in Christ, accessible to every believing soul, and unwavering trust on man's part. Their interest in religion was almost exclusively intellectual.[14]

The result was that, in spite of all their grammar, logic, and exegesis, they founded only a school instead of a church,—a school of rational doctrine and pure morals, instead of a community of believers rejoicing in their salvation by the grace of God.

The anti-trinitarian movement was more than a passing protest against Catholicism: it became a separate organization, known as the Socinian, which in one form or another has continued to the present time. Dorner says: "The intellectual founder of Socinianism was Lælius Socinus. His nephew, Faustus, was its ecclesiastical organizer."

In principle the evangelical Reformers and the Socinians differed from each other as do the contemporary Evangelicals and Unitarians. A comparison of these two types of Protestantism, as interpreted by their leaders in authoritative statements, will throw light not only on their past relations, but also on present theological tendencies.

Let us begin with a consideration of the training and

[14] "A History of the Reformation," II. p. 425.

religious experience of Socinus and of Luther, the one the founder of Socinianism, the other of evangelical reform.

Lælius Socinus was "born to wealth, inheritor of a famous name, allied in blood with some of the noblest families of Tuscany, gifted by nature with a disposition of surpassing charm and with an intellect of singular fineness and dexterity." He was an extensive traveler, came into personal contact with leading Swiss, English, and German reformers, and was content with the easy position of a "gentleman in search of a religion."

Luther was a "peasant's son." He grew up under the strictest sort of discipline in his home, school, and church. His teachers he called "tyrants," and his schools "prisons and hells." From childhood he was intensely religious. In the university he was genial, not without fondness for the pleasures of student life, yet always industrious, serious, and religious. Mathesius says: "He began his studies every morning with worship in the church, and at that time already observed the maxim, *'Gut gebet' ist halb studiert.'* " As he grew into manhood, the problem of his personal salvation weighed on his heart. "O wenn wiltu einmal fromm werden und genug thun dass du einen gnädigen Gott kriegest?" (When will you become pious and do enough so that you may obtain a gracious God?) was the question that disturbed his peace by day and his rest by night. To answer it, he entered the monastery, performed the most menial services, invoked the Virgin and the saints, frequented the confessional, celebrated mass in the Lateran Church at Rome,—and yet God remained a stern Judge, whom he was disposed to dread, rather than to seek with confidence and joy.

Light dawned upon him from the Scriptures. Paul

became his guide unto Christ. "God in His great mercy," he says, "revealed to me that what Paul and the gospel proclaimed was a righteousness given freely to us by the grace of God, who forgives those who have faith in His message of mercy and justifies them and gives them eternal life." He obtained a new vision of God, a new way to the throne of grace, a new conception of the gospel, which in due time constrained him to turn protestant and reformer.

Comparing, then, the training and religious experience of these leaders, we find many more points of contrast than of resemblance. The one was "a gentleman in search of a religion"; the other was a sinner in search of salvation. The one found a prophet with a new law; the other, a Savior and Lord with a new gospel. The one became the founder of a school of sound doctrine and pure morals; the other, of a community of believers in a gospel of redemption and reconciliation. Both, indeed, were dissatisfied with the Catholic Church, and were in search of truth and righteousness. Both lived morally blameless lives and turned to the New Testament as a guide to the way of life. Yet the results of their efforts at reform differ widely in principle and in practice; for, as they opposed Catholicism from different standpoints and with different experiences, so they necessarily defined Protestantism with fundamentally different conceptions of the gospel.

These differences come to view as we compare the salient doctrines of the two systems. The Socinians, in the Racovian Catechism, defined the Christian religion as "the way, shown by God through Jesus Christ, of attaining eternal life." To the question where this way is to be found, the answer is given: "In the

Sacred Scriptures, especially in the New Testament." At first sight the evangelical reader may be disposed to assent to these statements; but a closer inquiry will show a wide difference from the evangelical doctrines. The Bible, the New Testament in particular, is considered a divinely revealed compend of precepts and promises, addressed to the reason and the will of man. In it there may be some statements which are *supra rationem.* Still, it contains nothing that is *contra rationem.* The human understanding is the gauge of truth. The Scriptures, accordingly, are to be accepted by the reason and will as law; not to be appropriated by faith as gospel. The difference between the Jewish religion and the Christian is one of degree rather than of kind. Christianity is only an improved Judaism,—a thesis against which Paul wrote his most weighty epistles. Christ is a new prophet and lawgiver, who has proclaimed "more perfect and more excellent promises and precepts" than those found in the Old Testament. He advances beyond Moses and the prophets, in that he adds moral commands, sacramental ordinances, and the promise of eternal life, as well as the example of his own perfect character and the impulse of the Holy Spirit. The assurance of forgiveness is given to those who are penitent and seriously strive to fulfil the law.

Faith and justification are defined agreeably to this view of Christianity and the Bible. Faith is *assensus* (assent) to a series of propositions—precepts and promises—made by God through Christ; it is not *fiducia* (trust) in God's grace revealed by Christ. "In the Scriptures," says the Racovian Catechism, "faith is most perfectly taught that God exists and that He recompenses. This, and nothing else, is the faith

which is to be directed to God and to Christ." It is furthermore affirmed that "this faith makes our obedience more acceptable and well-pleasing to God, and supplies the defects of our obedience provided we be sincere and earnest, and brings it about that we are justified before God." This was, in substance, the doctrine of the nominalist theologians, and of certain medieval popes who said that the Christian need only believe that God is a rewarder of the obedient; as for the rest of Christian doctrine, a *fides implicita* is sufficient. The Socinians, of course, have dropped the *fides implicita;* but they remain on the plane of the medieval theologians, yea, even of the Jewish and pagan religions, in defining faith as belief in an omnipotent recompenser of the just and the unjust. "Of an evangelical feeling there is here no trace," says Harnack.

Justification, or forgiveness, is not the beginning, but the end, of the Christian life. If one earnestly strives to obey the new law, then, though obedience is not perfect, God in the final judgment will pardon one's defects. Forgiveness is a mere incident, not the essence, of salvation.[15] Only in this sense are we justified by faith;—a concession to the Pauline doctrine, but a total misapprehension of it. This conception is nearer akin to the Catholic view, than to the Protestant.

Luther and his contemporaries, approaching the Bible with a different religious experience, typically

[15] Ritschl, "Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung," I. p. 316, says: "Here appears a palpable mark of practical opposition between Socinianism and churchly Protestantism. In the one forgiveness of sin is considered the beginning, in the other the result, of the Christian life. The Socinian estimate of forgiveness as a reward of Christian living is at the same time an indication that we are to recognize Christ as the founder, not of a religious community, but of an ethical school."

Pauline, drew a sharp distinction between Judaism and Christianity, law and gospel, faith and works, justification and sanctification. The Old Testament was recognized only as a tutor leading men to Christ; "Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth." The message of Jesus, recorded in the New Testament, is not a series of laws and promises, but glad tidings of salvation,—"the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe in the gospel." It is essentially a gospel,—good news,—appealing to men burdened with sin and guilt, seeking pardon, peace, and blessedness. The Augsburg Confession summarizes the contents of Christ's proclamation thus: "That God, not for our merits, but for Christ's sake, doth justify those who believe that they for Christ's sake are received into favor." "The Word itself," says Calvin, "is a mirror in which faith may behold God." According to the Heidelberg Catechism, the substance of the gospel is our Lord Jesus Christ, "who is freely given us for complete redemption and righteousness."

In the evangelical system, faith and justification are inseparably united. "Where there is forgiveness of sins, there are also life and salvation," says Luther. Faith is more than the Socinian belief that God is, and that he will reward those who keep his laws. "It is a hearty trust, which the Holy Ghost works in me by the Gospel, that not only to others, but to me also, forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness and salvation, are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits" (Heidelberg Catechism, Question 21). It has its source in the will of God, is surrender to a living person, and is the beginning of a new life. Justification does not come after an

earnest effort of man to obey the law of Christ; but it is an act of divine grace in behalf of the sinner, by which he becomes a son of God and ever after lives a life of thankfulness for his redemption.

The Socinian interpretation of the work of Christ, or the way of salvation, is controlled by the Scotist conception of God as the absolutely Arbitrary One (*Dominium Absolutum*). In his relation to man he is bound to act according to an *a priori* fixed moral order. In the Racovian Catechism we are told, "It belongs to the nature of God that He has the right and supreme power to decree whatsoever He wills concerning all things and concerning us, even in those matters with which no other power has to do; for example, He can give laws and appoint rewards and penalties, according to His own judgment, to our thoughts, hidden as these may be in the inmost recesses of our hearts." "The idea," says Professor Harnack, "that God is a being on whom man may depend, is foreign to the Socinians."

The way of saving men is, therefore, a matter of arbitrary choice on God's part, and not a necessary consequence of God's moral nature. Had he willed otherwise, he might have accomplished the same results in a diametrically opposite way. In the Bible, however, we find the plan which God has resolved upon, and which may be epitomized as follows.—According to a divine decree man is to be lifted from a state of death to a state of immortality. For this purpose the man Jesus was miraculously conceived, divinely endowed with wisdom and grace, raised from the dead, and exalted to glory. He was a great prophet, whose function was to teach men "the perfect precepts and promises of God, and the method and reason by

which we ought to conform to the divine precepts and promises." He himself was an example of perfect obedience. His sinlessness, miracles, death, and resurrection confirmed and sealed the truth of his doctrine and his divine authority.

Neither the theology of the Socinians nor their personal experience of sin and salvation requires Jesus to be God, or to make atonement for man's sin. In answer to the question, Was Jesus God, or man? they unhesitatingly said that he was man, yet not *"purus et vulgaris homo."* He was an extraordinary man, with divine power, wisdom, and immortality. After his resurrection God gave him lordship over all things, and he now deserves adoration and immortality. The Racovian Catechism says: "Scripture testifies that Jesus Christ by nature was man." This position is maintained by arguments from the Bible and from sound reason. The more important question, Is Christ *my* God? the Socinians never raised. They defined his nature and work simply on the basis of Scripture passages and the testimony of reason; not through the experience of redemption which enabled Paul to say, "No one can call Jesus Lord, save in the Holy Spirit."

According to the evangelical view God is a moral ruler whose nature corresponds to the moral order in the universe. The way of salvation is not determined by an arbitrary decree of God, in the sense that man might have been saved without atonement as well as by atonement, had God so willed. In answer to Question 40, "Why was it necessary for Christ to suffer death?" the Heidelberg Catechism says: "Because by reason of the justice and truth of God satisfaction for our sins could be made not otherwise than by the death of the Son of God." This answer clearly makes the

atonement a necessity, flowing from the nature of God himself. The evangelical reformers could have given only a negative answer to the Scotist question, "Could God have freed men from the guilt and punishment of sin without the work of Christ?" The Socinians, however, said, "Yes, if God so resolves."

Again, Luther's sense of sin and experience of salvation, so different from that of the Socinians, determined his conception of Christ as Savior. He had the Pauline experience, and rediscovered, therefore, the Pauline Savior. The necessity and the doctrine of the atonement were not based simply on Scripture passages; but these Scripture passages received their proper value because Luther actually experienced what they described. In this sense atonement was a revelation to Paul and to Luther, and finds its necessity in God's nature and in man's condition. Man, then, cannot save himself, whether by intellectual culture or moral effort. Salvation is an act of God in Christ, and is appropriated by faith.

The polemic of the Socinians against the Trinity was a natural consequence of their conception of the nature of God and of salvation. If Christ is only man, the trinitarian idea is no longer required by the Christian system. Arguments against this doctrine are drawn from the Scriptures and from reason. Still, the denial of the Trinity is not declared to be necessary, but *vehementer utile;—"eine schlimme Concession,"* adds Professor Harnack.

The Socinian turns the Church into a school, composed of men who are seeking to understand the doctrines and laws proclaimed by Jesus and preserved in the New Testament. The bond of union between the members is the effort to find truth and to keep pre-

cepts. Jesus is the teacher and the example; the Bible is the text-book; men are the pupils. The Church is resolved into an institution of ethical culture, which finds its moral incentive in the promise of eternal life.

The evangelical reformers conceived of the Church as a community of believers composed of men and women who *are saved* through Jesus Christ; and who, being saved, strive to glorify God for the salvation which they have received. It is a fellowship of saints who are united by a common experience, a common hope, and a common love; and who show themselves "thankful to God for His blessings, that He may be glorified through them" (Heid. Cat., Qu. 86).

Socinianism, like Lutheranism, was a serious attempt to re-form the Church and to restore biblical Christianity. As such it deserves respectful consideration. It was in agreement with other Protestant types in renouncing the authority of the hierarchy, in abolishing the elaborate Catholic ritual, and in making the New Testament the rule of doctrine and life. In denying the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, however, it went beyond the scope of evangelical Protestantism. Its point of departure from Lutheranism and Calvinism was its soteriology, or the conception of the way of salvation. Socinus never had the evangelical experience of justification, and consequently, when he came to defining Christianity, he did not rise above the level of intellectualism and moralism,—the two distinctive characteristics of ancient Catholicism. He did not advance beyond Romanism, but perpetuated its Jewish and Hellenic ideas in a simplified form.

True, certain superstitions, abuses, and baseless claims were eliminated; but the cure of the ills of the

Church was not to be found in a criticism of its dogma, a reform of its morals, or a change of its organization. Remedies of this sort were tried by medieval sects, reforming councils, mystics, and humanists.

The reformers before the Reformation failed because they did not go to the root of the trouble. Catholicism was the product of a unique conception of God and of salvation. This was the formative idea of its worship, polity, doctrine, and morality. The Church, therefore, could be re-formed, not by a critic, a philosopher, or a theologian, but only by a prophet who had a new vision of God as the God of Grace and who entered into a new fellowship with him—a fellowship of faith. This is the essential principle of evangelical Christianity; and Luther, having experienced this in his own life, became the leader of the Reformation, and separated from Catholicism because he rose above and went beyond it. The result of his protest, as well as that of his contemporaries, was an intellectual, moral, political, and social transformation of society,—nothing less than a new period in the history of the world.

For lack of a deeper religious experience than that which was worked out in Catholicism, Socinianism was valuable only

> as a severe and mordant analysis of a formal and scholastic theology, . . . but it had little independent and no constructive worth. The Socinian criticism simply applied to the profoundest mysteries of theology our everyday logical and ethical categories. It represented the play of the prosaic understanding in the region of the speculative imagination. For this very reason it was defective.[16]

It rejected the Atonement, the Incarnation, and the Trinity, on rational grounds, without recognizing the

[16] Fairbairn, "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," p. 173.

religious experience out of which these dogmas have grown. It failed to distinguish the formula from the truth which it embodied, and therefore renounced the one with the other. At the present time the feeling is growing stronger and clearer that the evangelical reformers accepted from Catholicism dogmatic statements which do not conform to the Protestant experience. Dogmas of the fourth century Fathers, in which the gospel is interpreted in terms of Greek philosophy, can hardly be expected to be satisfactory expositions of the gospel as comprehended by sixteenth century reformers. The result is theological unrest in the Christian world to-day. The way out of the difficulty, however, is not found in the rationalism and moralism of the Socinians, who failed to take into account the evangelical experience of sin, atonement, forgiveness, faith, justification and sanctification.[17] For a solution of the problem we look not to a rejection of these facts, but to a restatement of them in the light of the Christian consciousness of this age.

Of course the Unitarians of to-day no longer hold Socinian doctrines. Priestley, Channing, and Martineau have not lived in vain since Socinus died. But the standpoint and spirit of the Italian reformers are still characteristic of certain kinds of liberal theology. Jesus is reduced to a teacher, the gospel to a law, and the Church to a society of ethical culture. And this

[17] Ritschl, "Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung," I. p. 313: "I do not deny that the doctrine of the Trinity which the reformers adopted, and the doctrine of reconciliation, to which they and their disciples gave new form, are capable of improvement in respect to matter and form, and, considering exegetical and dialectical requirements, such improvement is indeed necessary; but I do deny that the significance of these doctrines for the churchly character of Protestantism can be understood only when we imagine we have reached the logical result of the Reformation by setting them aside, as the Socinians did."

view of Christianity is offered as a substitute, not simply for Roman Catholicism; but for evangelical Protestantism,—a modernized gospel trimmed down to fit the categories of an evolutionary hypothesis and of historical criticism, of economic programs and of utilitarian ethics. The issue before the Church to-day is not essentially different from that before the Church in the first and second centuries. Then the Jewish Christians endeavored to turn the gospel into a new law; the Greek Christians, into a new philosophy. Paul proclaimed it as a new life. If it is only a law, however perfect, or only a philosophy, however true, it is a matter for ethical and philosophical schools, not glad tidings to be announced to the poor. Christianity fails in its original purpose, and loses its power, when it ceases to be preached as a message of forgiveness, peace, consolation, inspiration, and hope to the toiling masses, burdened by sin, heart-broken, world-weary, despondent, and dying. This has been its strength in the past; this will, doubtless, be its glory in the future. As an ethical religion of redemption Christianity won its way into the Roman empire in the face of a multitude of religions and cults which also had the sanctions of divine origin and of centuries of tradition. It had something to offer which the world longed for and had never yet received. Its gospel of grace differentiated it from all other religions. On this point Professor Reitzenstein, writing as a philologist and not as a theologian, gives valuable testimony in his "Poimandres":

> That this redemption [of Christ] was not simply a driving away of evil passions and vices, a deliverance from death and assurance of eternal life, but first of all a forgiveness of sins, appears to me to be that which is new in

Christianity. The almost terrifying zeal with which men preached guilt and reconciliation is wanting in Hellenism, so far as I can see. When the early Christians related this sense of guilt, and faith in forgiveness of even the most grievous sins, to the death of Jesus, then and then only did the Christian doctrine of a Savior obtain its unique and its world-conquering power. Its Hellenic rivals could do no more than prepare a way for it in a world in which a sense of sin and guilt had been reawakened.[18]

This aspect of Christianity—ignored by Socinus and his disciples—Luther and his contemporaries restored. Herein lies the original and irreconcilable difference between Socinianism and evangelical Protestantism.

[18] Quoted by Wernle, "Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche," 1910, p. 25.

III

CONCLUSIONS

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS ON THE WAY OF SALVATION

The Present Need—The Way—Pagan and Christian Ways—Relative Value of Christian Ways

A STUDY of the ways of salvation, pre-Christian and Christian, has more than historical and theoretic value. It throws light on the practical religious issues of to-day. We shall consider, therefore, certain conclusions that may be drawn from human experience from the time of the primeval savage to the modern sage. Do we still need salvation? have we perhaps outgrown it? If not, how are we to be saved now? What is the relation of the present experience of salvation to the traditional doctrine; and what has this relation to do with the union of Churches? These and other questions call for serious consideration.

I

We are living in a new world, different from the ancient, the medieval, or even the early modern. Our age is not merely an enlarged or expanded sixteenth century. Though we are historically related and deeply indebted to it, we differ from it not only in degree but in kind. The mental mood of the man of the twentieth century is strange to the man of the sixteenth. We

may appeal to the sayings of the Reformers to support our theories; but do we put the same meaning into their phrases, and would they understand us if they were to come back to us? New spiritual and material factors and forces are at work in the life of the present; some of them new in the sense that their significance has but recently been recognized; others just come to birth, with promise of a lusty youth and vigorous manhood.

Ours is the age of science, democracy, and industrialism. Underlying these, and partly a product of them, is an intensified humanism,—a new sense of man's ability to think, to act, and to care for himself. The sense of dependence upon God has decreased in proportion as the spirit of man's independence has grown. The life of man was formerly controlled by civil and ecclesiastical dictation. Philosophy, art, science, politics, schools, morals, theology, worship,—all were under control of divinely appointed officials, bishops or princes. The modern man has freed himself from these restraints, and has built a civilization on secular and rational premises. He finds sanctions for government and social order in the natural reason and conscience, instead of in the hierarchy or the Scriptures. The *lex naturæ* is cited as of equal authority with the *lex dei*. We speak, accordingly, of a secular state, philosophy, politics, art, and ethics.

The rise of astronomy, geology, chemistry, biology, and historical criticism, the evolutionary hypothesis, and social science have dethroned dogmatism, traditionalism, and autocracy. The readjustment in theological thinking, required by the scientific view of the world, seems, when one listens to utterances of contemporary political and religious leaders, to be far

from completed. The public school, the labor-saving machine, the corporation, and the labor union have completely revolutionized the life of man, his aspirations, his methods of working, and his pleasures. Of course all of these are upheld by a sense of human ability, a new faith in man to work out his own destiny. The modern man has a sense of bold superiority to the world and has unbounded confidence in the strength of his own soul. He can level mountains, whisper across oceans, and make Saharas blossom like the rose. Christianity is facing a world that does not recognize religious premises of any sort; that, indeed, in this respect is more delinquent than pagan Rome. The state is a purely natural institution with wholly humanitarian motives and ends. Its ethics ignores religious bases and is utilitarian and hedonistic in motive. The basal institutions of the social order, into which men are born and in which they are reared, are pervaded by a materialistic and egoistic spirit. The tissue of our national life has not been woven out of Christian stuff. Our economic and industrial order is far from Christian, and at many points is in direct contradiction to the ideals of justice and brotherhood.

Most significant of all, perhaps, is the smug satisfaction of men with their scientific and industrial achievements, and their audacious contempt for the unmarketable culture of the schools. A recent critic of our educational system says:

> The undergraduate sits during the four most impressionable years of his life under the tuition and influence of highly trained, greatly devoted, and sincere men, who are financial incompetents, who have as little interest in, or understanding of, business as has the boy himself.[1]

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1922, p. 487.

Mr. Henry Ford blandly announces that history is "bunk." I do not know what that means, but I suspect that it is nothing favorable to the Cliosophic Muse. For why should the world care for Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, Gibbon and Bancroft, so long as men can ride in "Fords"? Mr. Samuel Gompers writes with pardonable complacency of himself:

> When I think of the education I got in the London streets, the training acquired by work in the shop, the discipline growing out of attempts to build an organization to accomplish definite results, of the rich cultural opportunities through human contacts, I know that my educational opportunities have been very unusual.

He has no sense of loss for not having been taught in the schools, and apparently has no thought of culture superior to that of the streets and shops and human contacts. Men are not always opposed to religion; not infrequently they subsidize it. They are tolerant of it; but theirs is the fatal tolerance of indifference, which is far more deadly than bitter opposition.

The self-reliance of the modern man breeds an easy-going optimism in relation to the conditions of the present and the outcome of the future. It was taken for granted, at least until recently, that natural evolution and human effort will rapidly lead men into the state of perfection. The sense of sin, which once drove men to the throne of grace, is reduced to ignorance, disease, or immaturity, which drive men to the teacher or to the doctor. More light is the cure for moral error; more growth, for moral defects. The feeling of human inability, of intolerable limitations and irreconcilable contradictions, felt so keenly by Augustine and Luther, is superseded by a consciousness

of almost unlimited strength that has no sense of the grace and truth of God.

The last decade, however, has taught men the shallowness and barrenness of their lives, the proximity of savagery to culture. Notwithstanding his conquest of nature's forces, man is largely at the mercy of pestilence and famine, storms and earthquakes. He needs food, shelter, and raiment; and the struggle for these consumes body and soul. For the great mass of mankind, life is still an almost unbearable burden. The most cultured Christian nations recently engaged in the most terrible and savage war of history. It was savagery refined and supported by science. Once they used the club, now the bomb; once they slew hundreds, now millions; once they laid waste provinces, now continents. It matters little whether man wears skins or broadcloth, so long as the heart is unchanged. Even now the wounds of war are festering, and the victims of peace are perhaps more numerous than those of war. Men are engaged in secret and in open battle for advantage, man over man, group over group, nation over nation. Man's inhumanity to man never cried more loudly to heaven from the blood-soaked earth than now. The lure of power, wealth, and pleasure has led men captive.

The experience of war and peace confirms what more thoughtful minds are proclaiming. These have the conviction of the failure of our civilization. Science and industry, machinery and wealth, organization and diplomacy, cannot satisfy men. Nor can we find solace in the automatic curative power of evolution or of education.

Mr. Huxley, speaking as an exponent of evolution, says:

With all their enormous differences in natural endowment, men agree in one thing, that is, their innate desire to enjoy the pleasures and to escape the pains of life. . . . That is their inheritance (the reality at the bottom of the doctrine of original sin) from the long series of ancestors, human, semi-human and brutal, in whom the struggle of their innate tendency to self-assertion was the condition of victory in its struggle for existence. . . . The cosmos works through the lower nature of man, not for righteousness but against it. The theory of evolution encourages no millenarian anticipations. The cosmic nature born within us and, to a large extent, necessary for our existence, is the outcome of millions of years of severe training, and it would be folly to imagine that a few centuries will suffice to subdue its masterfulness to purely ethical ends. Ethical nature may count upon having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts.[2]

Eucken, the philosopher, with ceaseless reiteration exposes the hollowness and inadequacy of merely human culture. His criticism of contemporary movements is based upon the thesis that "man is the meeting-place of two worlds, and only by seizing the higher can a meaning, a value, and a right movement be imparted to our life." Proceeding from this premise, he says:

We resist the democratic system of life (*Demokratismus*) because it is guilty of a false idealization of the sensuous and merely natural man, and is inclined to subordinate the spiritual world to what is merely human; we resist the economic system of life (*Oekonomismus*) because its construction from without inward involves a denial of the independent problems of the inner life, and because it believes the complete happiness of man to be secured by the establishment of conditions of comfort and freedom from care; and finally we reject the political system of life (*Politismus*) because it represses the independence of per-

[2] Huxley, "Evolution and Ethics," p. 27. 1894.

sonality and hence endangers the originality of spiritual creation, and further because it is ready to sacrifice the self-value of spiritual goods for merely utilitarian considerations. In all these tendencies we see an inner sinking in the midst of all outward progress, a treatment of the chief things as secondary things; we see man becoming spiritually smaller.[3]

Even Schopenhauer, the pessimist, says: "A sure feeling informs every one that there is something in him which is absolutely imperishable and indestructible."

Mr. James Branch Cabell in his "Beyond Life" pleads for the right of man to live in a world above natural science and political economy, for the present world, however perfectly organized and controlled, would not satisfy the soul of man. Man has "romantic longings and inexorable cravings to live part of the time at least in a world far more sweetly molded to his fancy." It is the haunting sense of the infinite which awakes in him when he sees the sunset, hears the roaring ocean, breathes the fragrance of a spring morning, looks into the dartling eyes of a child, and gazes into the silent depths at night.

> Just when we are safest, there's a sunset touch,
> A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,
> A chorus-ending from Euripides,—
> And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears,
> As old and new at once as nature's self,
> To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
> Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring,
> Round the ancient idol, on his base again,—
> The grand Perhaps![4]

Both the scientist Huxley, the philosopher Eucken, and the poet Browning open the door to the entrance

[3] Eucken, "Main Currents of Modern Thought," Eng. trans., pp. 379–380. 1912.

[4] Browning, "Bishop Blougram's Apology."

into human life of a power greater than the forces of nature or the spirit of man. They look for help to a spiritual realm beyond the natural process. Eucken says:

> There must be a spiritual life superior to man, which can, however, disclose itself to him and become actually his own being. . . . Man cannot produce a spiritual life of his own capacity; a spiritual world must impart itself to him and raise him to itself. . . . The whole movement is not just a development of ordinary human conditions; it involves a rupture, a discontinuity of life. There can be no religion that does not imply opposition to man's primitive condition and a reorientation of life. To this extent religion involves revelation and miracle, and is unthinkable without them.[5]

Emile Boutroux, a member of the French Academy, in a recent article says:

> It is more than ever necessary to-day that man's spiritual life should dominate that part of his existence which is merely material and moral; and it is more than ever important that that spiritual life shall remain intact, and continue to embrace science, poetry and religion as its essential parts.

Henry C. Emery, formerly a professor of economics in Yale University, said:

> We are told by some writers that the world is waiting in an agony of expectation for some great social philosopher who shall bring to it the new message of salvation. If so, the world is wrong, for there is no message to bring it peace from its manifold ills, save that heard nineteen centuries ago from the profoundest of all social philosophers, the Man of Nazareth.[6]

[5] Eucken, "Can We Still be Christians?" Eng. trans., pp. 98, 102; *idem*, "Life's Basis and Life's Ideals," p. 144.

[6] See Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," pp. 90–92.

In the words of Professor Ellwood:

> Now, so far as we can see, the time will never come when man will not have need of religion to release fully his energies, to brace his vital feelings, and to help him face the issues of life and death with confidence in himself and in his world.[7]

It is, doubtless, true that a thoughtful man to-day will not reckon with the supernatural in nature and in history as an object of scientific knowledge, for the supernatural cannot be naturally discerned. Here is the difference between contemporary scholars and those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet it by no means follows that natural science has a right to deny men the reasonable privilege of faith in a revelation that is not limited to an evolutionary process and in a redemption that is not effected by merely immanent forces in the universe.[8] Professor Karl Holl says: "The dogma of original sin describes the actual man far more correctly than the kind-hearted (*gutherzigen*) theories of the Enlightenment." [9]

There are voices far less hope-inspiring than Eucken's. They agree with him in acknowledging the vanity of this life, but are blind to his vision of a higher life. Left to themselves, science and economics must end in materialism, or at best in a refined humanism. Untouched by the light of Jesus, the life of man, whether in the Orient or in the Occident, in the ancient or in the modern world, will flicker out in darkness. Bertrand Russell is one of the most brilliant

[7] *Idem*, p. 37.

[8] Troeltsch substitutes the term "supersensuous" (übersinnlich) for the medieval "supernatural."

[9] "Was hat die Rechtfertigungslehre dem modernen Menschen zu sagen?" p. 21. Tübingen, 1907.

exponents of the purely scientific valuation of life. He says:

> That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocation of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labors of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast depth of the solar system; and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be burned beneath the débris of a universe in ruins.[10]

This is but another way of saying, with Nietzsche, "God is dead"; and both exult in his demise. Only last May (1921), a speaker at the Western Conference of the Unitarian Association declared in a clear and forceful address that theism must be given up, that the thought of God will have to go, that the long evolution of the idea of God is to end in no idea at all, and that the future belongs to an atheistic humanism.[11]

Whether men want salvation or not, the philosopher, the scientist, the socialist, and the masses unite in witnessing to the need of it. Life in its natural form is a failure,—always has been, always will be. We need salvation from sheer despair, if not from soul-destroying sin; from refined animalism, if not from brutal sensualism. There is a vast multitude always distressed and scattered, knowing not what they want and much less what they need. They are more easily victimized by hirelings than led by good shepherds. The quest for salvation may be seen and heard in divers

[10] "Logic and Mysticism," pp. 47–48.
[11] *Reformed Church Messenger*, Sept. 1, 1921, p. 4.

ways and places,—in a Fifth Avenue Church, in a Bowery Mission, in the halls of Columbia University, in the Rand School of Social Science, in the Cooper Union Forum, in Social Settlements, in Salvation Army Barracks, in the Labor Temple, in the Christian Science meeting, in the Cabaret, in Grand Opera. The devices for salvation and the dreamers of individual or social redemption are legion. Everywhere men feel the divine urge of getting away from themselves, of becoming what they are not. They are hopefully restless and divinely discontented. From a scholar's point of view Gilbert Murray says:

> Men find it [salvation], of course, in a thousand ways, with different degrees of ease and of certainty. I am not wishing to praise my talisman at the expense of other talismans. Some find it in theology; some in art, in human affection, in the anodyne of constant work, in that permanent exercise of the inquiring intellect which is commonly called the search for truth; some find it in carefully cultivated illusions of one sort or another, in passionate faiths and undying pugnacities; some, I believe, find a substitute by simply rejoicing in their prison, and living furiously, for good or ill in the actual moment.[12]

II

The way of salvation is usually determined by the idea of the highest good. It may be sought by amelioration or by redemption, by human effort or by divine volition, by change of environment or by change of heart, by popular education or by social transformation. The ideals of life, which run the gamut of human experience, are the barbarian, the Greek, and the Christian. Their names may change, but in content they are always the same.

[12] "Religio Grammatici," pp. 6, 7.

The *summum bonum* of the barbarian is to have much and to enjoy much. For him life is no more than food, and the body than raiment. His patron saint is King Crœsus, and his rule of life is described in the legendary epitaph dedicated to King Sardanapalus: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die." The offspring of Crœsus swarm over the earth: they are like the sands of the sea and the stars of heaven for number. Once they lived in tents, now they dwell in palaces, clubs, universities. Once they roved in tribes, now they have turned into corporations and unions. Strange as it may seem, they are the only kind of man that the social scientist, until recently, seemed to recognize. Their condition is vividly described in the two formulæ of Hobbes: *Bellum omnium contra omnes* and *Homo homini lupus est.* John Stuart Mill says:

> Political economy is concerned with man only as a being who desires to possess wealth. . . . It makes abstraction of every other human passion or motive. . . . It considers mankind as occupied solely in acquiring and consuming wealth.

Mr. Walker confirms the view of Mill, and at the same time defines the attitude of the English school of economists, when he writes:

> The end of wealth man never fails to desire with a steady, uniform, constant passion. Of every other human passion or motive political economy makes entire abstraction. Love of country, love of honor, love of friends, love of learning, love of art, pity, shame, religion, charity, will never, so far as political economy cares to take into account, withstand the efforts of the economic man to amass wealth.

The latest attempt to enthrone barbarism under the pretense of promoting human welfare, is the political and social program of the Russian Bolshevists,—Marxism drawn out in living characters. Considerations of justice; the sanctity of the family, the rights of womanhood, childhood, and parentage; and, most of all, the ideals of Christianity or of any religion,—all are trampled under foot in this "war to the death against all who possess." [13]

Man, however, is either too human or too divine to rest content with things, though flashing with barbaric splendor. "A spark disturbs his clod." He cannot rid himself of God. The Greek looked with disdain upon the barbarian. Solon was not captivated by the wealth and magnificence of Crœsus, for, when the King asked whom he regarded as the happiest of men, the wise Athenian, not a little to the other's chagrin, replied: "O King, the Athenian Tellos." "Why do you esteem Tellos happier than all others?" the King asked in surprise. Solon answered: "Tellos lived at a time when the city was prospering; he had beautiful and good children, and, above all, lived to see his grandchildren, and all of them were preserved to him; he was, for our conditions, in good circumstances, and finally, he suffered a glorious death; at Eleusis, in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbors, he succeeded in repelling the enemy after a gallant fight, and met a most beautiful death. And the Athenians buried him where he fell, at public expense, and greatly honored him." [14] Crœsus made life consist of wealth; Tellos, of virtue. The Greek per-

[13] See my article, *Educational Review*, Sept., 1921, "The Function of the Christian College."

[14] Paulsen, "A System of Ethics," Eng. trans., p. 37.

fected the cult of strength and beauty, expounded by the athletes and the poets of the Olympic contests. He became the refined humanist, subtle, fascinating, and yet disappointing. A little above the barbarian, he was far below the Christian. This view of life has been revived and put into crystal phrase by the "gifted though unhappy Nietzsche." He says:

> The meaning of life is to be found in the æsthetic aspect of it, in what is strong, majestic, beautiful. To devote ourselves to this aspect of life, to preserve and strengthen it in ourselves and in others, to make it predominant and develop it further till superhuman greatness and new purest beauty is attained; that is the end and meaning of our existence.

However fine this somewhat fashionable philosophy may sound, we cannot escape the fact that the strength of man ends in impotence, and the beauty of man in ugliness. Beauty that decays is not beautiful, and strength that dies is not strong. "Were not Sulla the Roman aristocrat and dictator, Antiochus the king of Syria, and Herod the king of Judea eaten up by worms while still alive?" A sad commentary on mere human splendor and power! Both the exaltation and the condemnation of the classic example of the superman are found in the First Book of Maccabees, though the writer had no such purpose in mind when he wrote:

> And it happened after that Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chittim, had smitten Darius, King of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece, and made many, many wars, and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him, wherefore he was exalted and his heart was lifted up. And he gathered a mighty strong host, and

ruled over countries, and nations, and kings, who became tributaries unto him.

So far the exaltation. Now observe the irony of the next sentence, which must chill devotees of the superman to the bone:

And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die.

Christianity does not reject strength and beauty, but it will not have a beauty that fades, nor a strength that dies. Christian strength and beauty are rooted in the good; they are the strength and beauty of Christ, who is altogether lovely, the chief among ten thousand. Christian beauty is the beauty of holiness, and Christian strength is the strength of righteousness; which death cannot destroy and the grave cannot corrupt.

There is a more excellent way,—the *via crucis,* the *via lucis,* the *via Christi;* to the Greek foolishness, and to the Jew a stumblingblock, but the power and wisdom of God to them that are saved. This is not primarily subscription to creeds, observance of rituals, obedience to laws. It is a new spirit in man, an attitude and disposition toward the ultimate realities of life,—God, man, and the world. Its first manifestation is in a new faith, a new hope, and a new love. These are begotten in the heart of man by God in Christ,—a Christlike God. The resultant life is primarily for this world, for the Kingdom of God upon earth; and then for another world, for the Kingdom of God in heaven. It means the conquest of the world by its spiritual transformation. It means a new will that strives after holiness and perfection,—as the Father in heaven is perfect. It begets a new feeling of self-reliance, born of the assurance that we are children of

God. It creates a new form of human intercourse, a social community united in brotherly love. It results in a new relation to earthly goods, the mastery of all things and their subordination to the ideals of righteousness and love. Solovyoff, in "The Justification of the Good," says: "Mastery over the material sense, solidarity with other living beings, and inward voluntary submission to the superhuman principle,—these are the eternal and permanent foundations of the moral life of humanity." The cardinal virtues of the Greeks—wisdom, courage, justice, temperance—need not be renounced, but they must be brought into the service of the Christian graces,—faith, hope, love. Men are to see the universe of matter and the nations of history through the eyes of Jesus,—all coöperating for the attainment of the "one far-off divine event." In the strength of this vision they will spend themselves in works of faith, labors of love, with the patience of hope.

III

It is important, also, that we consider the Christian way of salvation in relation to pagan ways, and show the superiority of the one over the others.

Christianity doubtless has gone beyond the stage of the natural and the national religions. In principle it is free from magic, ritualism, and legalism. Elements of these may survive in the churches and in popular belief and practice, but they are foreign to the essence of Christianity. It offers a way of ethical redemption, in which there is an inward and organic relation between religion and morality. The one is the root, the other the fruit.

In the history of mankind, as we have seen in the

second chapter, two other religions of redemption have been evolved and propagated,—Buddhism in India, and Platonism in Greece. Judaism and Christianity excepted, these are the highest developments of religion. They are universal in their scope, free from national and ritualistic limitations, and are inward and spiritual in their appeal and operations. They are serious efforts on the part of the human spirit to emancipate itself from the vanity, the impermanence, the sorrow, and the ills of life. In their scope, inwardness, and purpose, they are in full accord with Christianity. Yet in their ideals and in their effects they differ widely from Christianity.

They proceed from the common premise that the present life is evil; that there is a higher form of existence which man can attain, and that, therefore, he must rise above the world in which he now is. Buddha, through immediate illumination, has found the way of redemption, ending in Nirvana, the cessation of life and the absolute quiescence of human desire and endeavor. The Buddhist ideal of sainthood is the monk.

Plato flees from the world, with its rules and regulations, its narrowness and restrictions, its baseless opinions and arbitrary judgments, to the world of ideas comprehended by the wise man; not irrational, arbitrary, transient, but reasonable, just, and permanent. Men are saved by pure thinking aided by celestial enthusiasm, the heavenly Eros, which enables the reason to soar into the realm of ideas and live in fellowship with the gods. The Platonic ideal of sainthood is the philosopher.

Buddha and Plato present a one-sided and distorted view of life. The highest good of Buddhism is Nirvana, the complete denial of life. It is deliverance, not

merely from sin; but from life itself, which is essentially sorrow and suffering. Cessation of life is, therefore, the only way of salvation. Plato denies the value of life in the present social order, the practical life of the world. He withdraws from it into the realm of pure ideas, the undisturbed contemplation of which is the supreme end and joy of man.

Buddha, as a necessary outcome of his view of human life, denies the personality and the being of God. Plato sublimates the deity into a mystical abstraction that can be comprehended or contemplated only by the philosopher. In both religions there is no vital relation between the highest good and moral endeavor: the one reaches the supreme blessing through inward illumination, the other through clear thinking; but the essential thing which religion has to offer is obtained apart from good and evil. Buddhism has never penetrated and permeated the life of its adherents. It has produced only superficial changes in the nations which have adopted it. Platonism has never become a religion of the people; it is the way of a small group of philosophers. Both Buddhism and Platonism, in the course of centuries, have been modified and neutralized by compromise with ideas and customs alien to their own high demands.

Jesus proclaimed deliverance, not from life itself; but from sin, alienation from God. Buddha considers life as a whole an evil; Christ considers sin in life as the only evil. Buddha is hopelessly pessimistic in his estimate of the world and its final outcome. Jesus is hopefully optimistic in his view of the end of history and of man's destiny. As a remedy for the misery of life, Buddha demands the annihilation of desire and volition, the denial of the will to live. Jesus affirms

the will to live,—the abundant life. Each self-denying "no" leads to a self-affirming "yes." God is a free person, an omnipotent Father, with whom men are to live in fellowship as sons; to share his will, his purpose, his motive, and the ultimate victory of his kingdom. Each stage in the world's development is a step toward the divine goal. Thus the mutations of time and the processes of history are reconciled with the immutability of the divine purpose. Jesus satisfies the longing of men for self-preservation and growth. Buddha offers deliverance by suppression of self and extinction of life; Jesus proclaims victory over the grave and entrance into the higher personal life of God. Christianity saves not only the individual but, through the individual, the social order. The Kingdom of God is always coming, though never quite here. Yet its gradual realization requires of its adherents a deliberate and intelligent conflict with evil, error, and opposition, with the hope of final victory in a supermundane sphere.

The decisive factor is the character of the ultimate being. Buddha regards it as impersonal; hence personal life is error and deception, from which one must be saved in order to be in harmony with the universe as a whole. Jesus considered the ultimate being as personal will and love, and the criterion of all abiding values. Men are to become like him; to share his thought, his affections, and his freedom. If personality is the end of being, then Christianity only, not Buddhism nor Pantheism, offers the adequate way of salvation.

IV

What is the relative value of the ways of salvation of the different churches? Each group of churches has

its own theory and methods, and claims biblical warrant and divine authority. Men doubtless have been saved and are being saved in the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Baptist Church. Christ is not limited to a doctrine, nor bound by an ordinance. These are results, rather than causes, of salvation. Yet there must be a power working through each of the churches, which, regardless of their differences, saves men. Their redemptive power cannot be a distinctive dogma, rite, or institution which divides one church from another; it must be a spirit and a life which, to a greater or less extent, pervades all churches and gives them the right to be called Christian. It is clear, however, that the different churches do not convey the saving power of Christ with equal efficacy.

What are the factors of salvation common to all the churches? Since redemption is an inward, personal, and spiritual process, it can be imparted only in an inward, personal, and spiritual way. Political, dogmatic, and ritualistic forms may be symbols and signs of Christ's saving work, but they cannot be channels of his saving power. Two redemptive factors are held in common, though under different forms, by all the churches,—*Jesus*, and *the community of believers.* Through Jesus, as presented in the Scriptures and in the Church,—in which his Spirit dwells,—men are brought into fellowship with the Christlike God, who by his word and spirit begets faith, hope, and love in the human heart. Where this fellowship is, there is Christ and there is salvation. The church which, by virtue of its doctrine, organization, and life, most effectually sets forth Christ to men, and thus fills them with the Spirit; which expresses itself in works of faith,

labors of love, and the patience of hope,—that church most adequately accomplishes the Christian task.

This, we believe, is done most effectively by evangelical Churches; yet none of them has realized, in its thought and life, all the implications and possibilities of evangelical Christianity. In its essence evangelical Christianity is not a dogma, a polity, a cultus, or a legal code, as is so often supposed. It is a spiritual experience born out of a sense of need,—the need of the living God: not indeed a new need, but an old need felt in a new way in the dawn of a new age. It was felt by prophet and psalmist, by apostle and father, by schoolman and reformer. Each answered it in his own way and in the light of his own day. Whenever a new vision of God satisfies the cry of the awakened heart, there is a marked advance in the history of Christianity and in the religious life of the race.

The elemental spiritual needs of men always voice themselves in a threefold form: the need of providence, the need of grace, and the need of truth or a way of life.

In the presence of a universe with forces that devastate and destroy, and of evils of the individual and social life, some in the blood and some in the air, God needs to be justified before men, as much as men need to be justified before God. The one is the perennial problem of theodicy; the other, of soteriology. The evangelical Reformers found a solution, not in ancient philosophy, in stoical defiance, in cynical scorn, in epicurean indulgence, or in skeptical negation; but in childlike trust in a Christlike God, who upholds and controls matter and mind in the universe for the ultimate establishment of the reign of holy love. God is justified before men by faith in divine providence.

Men, then as now, came to a new sense of sin and failure, and felt the need of grace, the more keenly they felt the guilt of sin. The Reformers were humiliated by personal sin; we, in addition, are burdened by sin in its overpowering social and national form. In vain do we seek riddance of sin by the outworn devices of men, by ignoring it, by doing penance for it, by forgetting it. Like the Reformers, we can find peace only through forgiveness, in the free grace of God revealed in Christ and appropriated by faith. Men are justified by faith in a Christlike God.

Men, then as now, felt the need, not only of divine grace for the sinner, but of a divine life for the saved. In vain did they follow the traditions of the Church, or the example of prophets and priests, of sages and saints, or the light of reason and the promptings of conscience. These were mostly blind guides leading the blind. They found the Lord and Master, as well as the Savior, in the Godlike man who said, "I am the way, the truth and the life."

The essence of evangelical Christianity, therefore, is a spiritual experience of God in Christ, who satisfies the permanent threefold need of the human soul by revealing a God of love who provides, a god of grace who forgives, and a God of truth who guides.

When men have once so found Christ and, through him, direct access to God, they will have the freedom of the Christian man, not only to serve God in love, but to reconcile the intolerable contradictions between the gospel and culture, which perplex the intellect, burden the conscience, and stir up bitter hatred. True, men are saved without such reconciliation, without enjoying the ripe fruit of salvation. They are like the prisoner who is told that he is free,—that the doors of his cell

are thrown open, the guards removed, the prison gates standing ajar,—and yet, with all the joy of freedom in his heart, never goes out of his prison under the open sky and into the unbounded landscape. He is free, but he does not take advantage of his glorious liberty.

So there are vast multitudes of Christians who have the power of salvation in their hearts and who live the Christian life, and who yet are still hedged in by opinions, traditions, customs, and institutions that, though merely incidental to salvation, were once thought essential to it. Christians may simply ignore these contradictions. Some may be content to abide by tradition without attempting a reconciliation. Others may be alienated from the faith and follow the light of culture, believing that religion and reason are irreconcilable. Sooner or later, however, a reconciliation must be made, in the interest both of sound religion and of pure science. Our spiritual self-preservation and our faith in the sovereignty of God demand it. The problem cannot be solved by superficial compromise. "The patient endurance of a condition of mental contradiction is always an indication of a feeble concentration of life; it is characteristic of the mental life of children, of primitive historical epochs, and of the condition of average humanity, and contrasts with the demands which issue from our spiritual freedom." [15]

Christianity is a ministry of reconciliation. It is not world-exclusive, but world-inclusive. It is not a mere adjunct to human life, a department alongside of other departments. It is a spirit pervading, transforming, and completing every form of human activity. Nothing cosmic, nothing human, nothing tem-

[15] Eucken, "Main Currents of Modern Thought," p. 91.

poral or eternal, is foreign to Christianity. It unites infinitely diverse orders of being into the harmony of a glorious universe. For, "all things are summed up in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon the earth." The arts will not become less but more scientific, when artists and scientists become Christians. Christians, also, may become more scientific, and, because of their science, reach an infinitely grander conception of the universe than did psalmist or prophet. Christianity is a ministry of reconciliation between human discovery and divine revelation, between pagan virtues and Christian graces, between matter and mind, between God and man.

Historical, literary, scientific, and philosophic investigation and thought must be brought into harmony with the Christian ideals. The student works in the laboratory and observatory, deciphers the records on rocks and tablets, traces the origin of species and the descent of man, resolves ancestor worship into mere heredity and nature-worship into mere environment, sees things as genetic and not static, finds a God working by process and not by fiat, faces the hostile and devastating forces in nature and the more terrible and pitiless wrath of men and nations, a world bleeding at every pore;—in the presence of all this, he must be convinced not only that we can still be Christians, but that the best results of time and the deepest experiences of the modern man demand that, to be true to all the facts and phenomena of life, we must be Christians. Professor Ross, a political scientist, says: "Is it not wonderful that in the Gospels we find provided just the religion which is best suited to realize the sociologist's ideal?"

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS ON THE WAY OF SALVATION

THE EVANGELICAL WAY

Let us consider the evangelical way of salvation in its relation to the Bible; to creeds, confessions, and theologies; to ecclesiastical ordinances and rites; to the scientific view of the world; and to the divisions in the church.

I

What is the significance of the Bible according to the evangelical interpretation of the gospel? Often it is considered a mark of a high degree of faith when a man says that he believes the Bible from cover to cover. It is hard to decide who is farthest afield: the man who boasts that he believes everything in the Bible, or the one who boasts that he believes nothing. We have as little confidence in the faith of the one as respect for the doubt of the other. Neither has fought his way through the difficulties of faith and "made a stronger faith his own."

Certain it is that such implicit faith did not exist in all Israel and not in the early church. None of the biblical saints ever read the sixty-six books of the Bible. Neither the Apostles nor the Fathers had our Bible from cover to cover. The evangelical Reformers distinguished between gospel and Scripture, and yet

they never freed themselves from the bondage of biblical literalism.[1] The churches of the seventeenth century exalted the Bible into an infallible and inerrant oracle in proportion as faith in the living Christ, rooted in personal experience of salvation, died down. The churches of to-day are their heirs, and have not been able to discriminate between saving faith in the grace of God manifested in Jesus Christ and the blind acceptance of everything written in the Bible. They resolve the Bible into an infallible revelation of all things in heaven and earth,—things past, present, and future; things relating to science, art, history, archæology,—even into a blue print of human history and of the future destiny of the race. How much finer and truer is Paul's definition of the purpose of the Scriptures, in his letter to the Romans, 15:4: "For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope." The Bible is not to teach science, art, history; but to beget in men the essential and eternal elements of the Christian life, which no science or art can ever generate,—faith, hope, and love. The Bible is the book of life because it inspires and nurtures life; it is the word of God because it shows men God in all the relations of life. It is not a compend of doctrines and of laws to take the place of a far-off God, but a revelation of a God who is ever-present and ever-working in the world and in the bosom of humanity. The Bible is abused,

[1] "At all events Luther here remained by the canon of the Scriptures, though at bottom only that was for him the word of God which played a rôle in his experience of salvation. Accordingly he identified in a Table Talk on Erasmus the Holy Scriptures and the word of God, and so expressed preference too often for inadequate traditions instead of new doctrinal expositions.—Zickendraht, "Erasmus and Luther," LXI. 2060.

not used, when it is made a book of laws and promises, an oracle of science and history as well as of religion. It fails in its purpose unless it leads men beyond itself, into fellowship with God in Christ and with the brotherhood of believers. Then only are the Scriptures a means of salvation and the way of life.

II

Another annoying and disturbing contradiction exists between the faith of the Christian and the traditional creeds and confessions. The acceptance of these is often—if not directly, at least by implication—made a condition of salvation. What are creeds and confessions? Presumably they are transcripts, in brief form, of the Bible. Since the Bible is infallible, so must the creeds be; for they are taken from the Bible. In fact, however, creeds and confessions are attempts on the part of men to put into intellectual and literary forms their experiences of God and salvation. They are *confessions of faith,* and as such serve a valuable purpose for clarifying the mind and for propagating the gospel. But they lose their virtue when they are turned into *laws of faith* which men must accept, whether they share the experience out of which they have grown or not. Formal assent of this kind is the essence of Catholicism and the death of evangelical freedom.

Creeds and confessions must contain the content of men's experience of God in Christ; they must bear witness to what men have seen and heard, handled and felt, of the Word of life. Only what is credible ought to be allowed in a creed. In other words, facts or affirmations that must be proved by logic or by his-

torical investigation do not belong to a confession of faith, but only that which will approve itself to a person who lives the life of faith working in love. A confession, therefore, must be the expression of God's revelation to us and in us at a particular time, and must be put into the language of our age. It may coincide with the creeds and confessions of the past; the chances are that it will contain the essential elements of the historic creeds, for in substance the experience of salvation is the same in every age. Yet the forms of expression will vary; and the content may be limited, as it ought to be, to things religious; but thus far creeds have included things philosophic, scientific, and historical that are no longer tenable. Deeply religious persons, in whom Christianity is life, will chafe under the limitations of ancient formulas; not because they have less faith, but because they have more faith and need statements that are commensurate with their faith. None, however, but he who enjoys the experience and the freedom of evangelical Christianity, is in a position safely and consistently to make the reconciliation between the ancient creeds and confessions and contemporary Christian experience and thought.

III

The Socinians and the rationalists are not qualified to criticize the doctrines of the trinity, the two natures of Christ, the atonement, and the resurrection. They cannot, in the nature of the case, understand them, for they do not share the spiritual experiences out of which they came. To the natural man, they will forever remain unreasonable. No mere scholar, philosopher,

scientist, or humanist can ever find God in Christ and Christ in God.[2] Only they who are saved by the power of the gospel will know that Jesus is Savior and Lord. Then only will the christological and trinitarian problem arise. Only the saved can rightly answer the questions: What think ye of Christ? and, How is Christ related to God? Through centuries of spiritual struggle and bitter controversy, the Christian group formulated their experience of salvation through Jesus Christ in terms of Greek philosophy in the Nicene theology and the Chalcedonian christology,—the trinity of the Godhead and the deity of Jesus. These doctrines were life, flowed in the blood and pulsated in the heart, before they became formulas. Men who do not share that life, the salvation which the doctrines explain, must forever remain blind to the meaning and value of the doctrines. They will reject them without making the fine distinction between the spirit which they are intended to embody and the form in which the spirit was embodied.

The German and Swiss Reformers felt the power of salvation before they criticized the traditions of the Church. In consequence, they revitalized the articles of the ancient creeds, so interpreting the old statements as to make them harmonize with their own experience and knowledge of Christ; and herein they were far nearer the truth than were the Socinians in Italy and the Unitarians in Poland. Yet they did not finally solve the problem which evangelical Christianity necessarily raised. They simply settled it for a time

[2] Luther taught that he who comprehends, through the Spirit, the Trinity, the God-Manhood and the redemptive death, comprehends the whole Bible; otherwise the Bible and its faith cannot be understood by the best student of the Scriptures.—Zickendraht, "Erasmus and Luther," p. 65.

by compromise: at that stage they could not have done better.

They emphasized the redemptive work of Christ, if anything more, not less, than did the Greek theologians. For they felt salvation to be wholly and solely the work of God's grace revealed by Jesus Christ. He is, therefore, not less but more Savior and Lord than in the Greek view of redemption. But the evangelical criterion of deity is different from that of the Nicene Fathers. It is not a metaphysical formula, but a religious experience of saving grace. Luther recognized the deity of Jesus "in that He has a gracious will to pity and to help."

This is the problem which the Reformers temporarily settled by compromise, and which we must solve. The new life that was moving in the Church of the sixteenth century "would have required a wholly new theology to match it, but to the production of such a theology the Protestant Church was for the time unequal." [3] Evangelical theologians cannot and ought not to be content, until they have found a satisfactory solution. They must work out a theology and a christology that will square with the evangelical experience of salvation and with the metaphysics and psychology of our age. Such a doctrine, we believe, will exalt the deity of Jesus far more than did the Nicene or the Chalcedonian christology, but in terms that are consonant with our experience and our culture.

IV

With our conception of salvation in mind, it ought not to be difficult to escape from the bondage of

[3] Denney, "Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation," p. 92.

ecclesiastical rites and ordinances. It can easily be understood how men with a firm belief in an inerrant Bible which prescribes both the doctrines and the government of the Church, or with an equally firm belief in an inerrant Church whose traditions and ordinances have divine sanction and permanent validity, will confound a form of government, a dogma, a mode of baptism, a theory of ordination, with the essentials of salvation. But in the light of the evangelical experience, both of the doctrine of justification by grace through faith, and of the church as the community of the saved who both have salvation and mediate it in personal and spiritual ways, it is difficult to exalt a mode of baptism, a theory of apostolic succession, a dogmatic definition of the Lord's Supper, or a form of church government into an essential, and to permit it to divide the Christian brotherhood and to interfere with the free activity of the Spirit in the salvation of men.

Recent efforts at church union, however, have proved that the adherence to incidentals and to transient historical formulas is too strong to permit organic union of the evangelical churches,—a union that must be based upon the experience of salvation, and not upon the common acceptance of a dogma or an ordinance. When we have a deeper and broader experience of the changeless evangelical realities, our ecclesiastical forms and formulas will become inadequate and irksome, and we shall be ready to lay them aside as garments that are worn out. We shall not be content to be Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, or Methodist. We shall need a larger term for a wider experience. Nothing less than "Evangelical Christian" will satisfy us. We shall cease to pronounce denominational shibboleths, and in the power of a new

life born of the Holy Spirit we shall proclaim with heart, voice, and hand the evangel of Christ.

When we are thus united by the spirit of God in hope and faith and love, with full confidence in one another and with supreme loyalty to Christ we shall declare ourselves before the world—what we in fact are—the united church of Christ. Then our Lord's prayer for the unity of believers will be answered: "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us." After a spiritual unity of this kind is once begotten in us, then we shall take our time—as did the Fathers in ancient councils and modern assemblies—to work out a form of doctrine, a system of government, a mode of worship, and a way of life that will be true to the Christ of the New Testament, to the Christ in us, and to the democratic spirit of our age. In the meantime, let us work and pray in the spirit of the prophets, with the patience of the saints, and with the courage of our Lord.

V

The necessity of reconciling the Christian faith with the conclusions of philosophy and science has been borne home to us through recent developments in church assemblies and by the action of a state legislature. Questions that we thought were put to rest have leapt into life again.

The result of Greek culture, of medieval scholasticism, and of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, proves the inadequacy of human reason to solve the mysteries of life. Human life transcends the understanding of men: it extends beyond the reach of the logical mind. Indeed, reason turns against itself,

criticizes its own results, and destroys its own authority. The age of philosophy is followed by the age of science. Men set themselves the task of finding trustworthy and indubitable facts and ideas by investigation and induction. Scientists, however, are limited to the tangible and visible universe, the world of the microscope and telescope. If they stay within their bounds, and are true to their data, they will end in materialism or agnosticism. But even less than philosophic idealism does the materialistic or agnostic view of life cover the field of human experience. Man knows, in spite of what science may declare, that there is something more than matter, greater than men. He finds access to a world of reality into which science cannot enter, and from which he will not permit science to bar him.[4]

I found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;
Nor thro' the questions men may try,
The petty cobwebs we have spun:

If e'er, when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice, "Believe no more,"
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep;

A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd, "I have felt."

—TENNYSON, *In Memoriam,* CXXIV.

[4] "Science is not religion, nor can it become a substitute for religion. Religion is and must remain essentially in the realm of faith; it necessarily transcends science, but it can and should become a rational faith, energizing men for better living both individually and socially, and seeking the aid of science, especially the social sciences, for the building of a better human world."—Ellwood, "The Reconstruction of Religion," Preface, xi.

On this account, paradoxical as it may seem in this age of science, there is an astounding spread of spiritualism, mysticism, Christian science; and a strong reaction towards an uncompromising orthodoxy and a militant fundamentalism.

The Christian need no more be a scientist, in order to know God and Christ and to enjoy salvation, than the child need be a psychologist, in order to love and trust his mother. Fellowship with Christ is as independent of science as it is of theology. Yet the irresistible urge in the mind of man to reconciliation of contradictions compels us to harmonize science and Christianity. It is the task of the Christian theologian to relate the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Christian experience of salvation, and the way of life, to the universe and to human life as a whole. He is to do for us what Paul, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Schleiermacher did, each for his age. Yet his problem is different, and perhaps more difficult than theirs. At any rate, their solutions will not answer our needs. Professor Cross, of the Baptist Seminary at Rochester, says: "Such a task far outranges, in its sweep and depth of penetration into the truth of things, the labors of the theologians of earlier times." For we cannot escape the feeling that the value of modern life must have been enhanced by Bacon, Locke, Kant, Hegel, Darwin, and Spencer. Our industrial order, based upon the results of science and of inventive genius, must have its significance for the Kingdom of God: it is evidence of progress, not of apostasy and retrogression. It imposes upon the theologian the task of relating the gospel of Jesus to recent inventions and discoveries, to sane and sound conclusions of philosophy. Yet not for a moment is

he bound by scientific methods and conclusions. The scientist must not turn theologian, and the theologian must not turn scientist. Each has his world, his way of knowledge, and his method of operation. When each remains true to his task and to his sphere, the results of both will be readily harmonized.

The Christian will always think of God in terms of Christ. For him God is Christlike. He will come to him and know him through childlike faith. The technical terms of theology, taken from philosophy, have no meaning for the believer. The minister of the gospel must bear witness to Christ in the language of common experience. The heart will respond with faith and love. Lectures on divine immanence and on evolution will not save men.[5] The theologian, however, is to make it clear that in the results of science and the conclusions of philosophy there is nothing contradictory to the revelation of Jesus and to his way of salvation. He is to make it equally clear that the philosophic idea of an immanent God is not the equivalent of the Christian view of God; who is an ethical person, not in process of becoming, nor confined to the limits of the natural universe. His relation to the world is determined not by physical necessity, but by divine volition. With men, also, he deals as with free agents.

[5] "The epithets 'immanent' and 'transcendent' are a foreign language to Christianity. Yet if 'immanent' means that God is always giving Himself to His world, and thereby sustaining it in whatever degree of reality belongs to its successive stages, then the God of Christianity is 'immanent' with an intensity and seriousness which leaves Spinozism far behind. And, if 'transcendent' means in plain words that God knows what He is about, that He is preparing a world capable of receiving His perfect self-communication, then the God of Christianity is 'transcendent,' with a glory that belongs not to the Greek Absolute or the Roman Imperator."—T. B. Kilpatrick, Art. "Soteriology," Hastings, "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," XI. p. 723.

Moral reason and Christian revelation tell us that God is ethically transcendent. In this view only can we account for the sense of sin and guilt, which otherwise would be reduced to error and imperfection. The deepest instincts and the ripest moral judgment of the race will not permit that.

Nor will the Christian consciousness ever be satisfied to regard Jesus merely as a great teacher, a prophet, or a religious genius. His followers from the beginning have ranked him with God. He is a new species of man and a new form of God in the world. Through him men have received new life, for which science cannot account and which philosophy cannot understand. Christianity is, therefore, not one of many religions, or merely a stage in the religious development of the race. The religions and the races of men are complete in him. His revelation is a final historical product. In principle it cannot be surpassed and in practice it cannot be exhausted. The ethics of the gospel, rooted in faith and love, has never been fully realized, much less superseded. We believe its ideals to be absolute and final, equally applicable to the ancient and the modern man.

These convictions about God, Jesus, and the Christian life, can be neither proved nor disproved by science or philosophy. They are independent of any specific view of the world, whether mythological or scientific. They must approve themselves in the heart of the Christian through faith working in love,—which the understanding of the natural man cannot grasp.

Science and philosophy, however, may compel us to give up, or to modify, many traditions, doctrines, and practices. But their conclusions do not compel us to break with the fundamental truths of Christianity.

Professor Troeltsch, a liberal theologian and a master of philosophy, significantly says:

> The gospel always remains distinctly and clearly a promise of redemption, leading from the world, nature, and sin, from sorrow and error, to God. In this world we cannot find the last word of God. The significance of the classic primitive period, the time when Christians were indifferent to the world, will always call our hearts from culture and immanence to that world which is above both.

As we look back over the ground we have covered, we cannot help but feel that there is in man an unquenchable striving upward, and that on the heights there is One who has an irresistible longing downwards:—the heights calling unto the depths, and the depths responding to the heights. Man is always seeking to rise above himself; God is always seeking to impart himself. Man needs God, and God wants men. This is the ultimate motive of religion. In all ages the superior spirits of the race have dwelt on the mountain tops; the masses have toiled on the plain, restless and discontented. All of them have felt the lure and the urge of the supramundane and the superhuman, which they call God. That which they groped after, strove for, aspired to,—that at last was reached in Jesus Christ. Never more than when you have studied the history of religion, from animism to Platonism, do you appreciate the greatness of the words recorded by John: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me."

Men are still like "infants crying in the night, crying for the light, with no language but a cry." The cave-dweller and the philosopher are close to each other, and yet far apart. Each has the upward look

and outward reach. Some day they will see the glorious blaze and grasp the blessed prize.

Paracelsus voices the hope of man in cave or in palace:

> I shall arrive! What time, what circuit first,
> I ask not; but unless God send his hail
> Of blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
> In some time, his good time, I shall arrive:
> He guides me and the bird. In his good time!

The gospel came into the world, not as a doctrine or a law, but as glad tidings and as the power of God. The glad tidings were proclaimed by Jesus, and the power of God proceeded from him for the salvation of men. Through him they were saved from their sins and entered into the abundant life. They were saved, and they helped to save others.

The glad tidings must always be found in the Scriptures; the power of God, in the Church, composed of men and women in whom the spirit of Jesus abides. Through the Scriptures and through the Church, the community of the saved and the saints, salvation is given unto the world. The power of it cannot be defined: it must be felt. It cannot be conveyed through material vehicles, but must be communicated by personal contact. Life alone begets life. It is personal love,—living, serving, suffering, sacrificing, dying, conquering love,—manifested in the life, death, resurrection, and glorification of Jesus, that is the power of God unto salvation.

The response of man to the love of God in Christ is faith,—faith working in love. The saving power of God must forever be appropriated by faith and applied in love. Faith cannot be begotten by reason, or com-

pelled by authority, but must be born of the Spirit in the heart. Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

What is not born of faith is foreign to the gospel and to Christian theology. Faith must be kept free from the impediments of dogma, ritual, tradition, and custom. It must pulsate in the heart; and work as an invincible and all-conquering spirit in living men, in the fellowship of believers. They are the means of grace, the bearers of salvation to a sinful world.

Salvation is more than a free gift; it is also a divine task. The divine dynamic in us must work itself out in a life of personal holiness and righteousness, and of social justice and peace,—a human brotherhood. Through the conversion of the individual God works with men for a new order of life,—domestic, industrial, political, national and international,—a new humanity. Salvation completes itself in the transformation of nations into the Kingdom of God, in the reign of righteousness and love in the hearts of the rulers and the peoples of the earth. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; and the sea is no more."

CHAPTER XIII

A CREDIBLE CREED

A TENTATIVE confession of faith was submitted to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, May, 1921,[1] and the Assembly, after due consideration, commended it "to the interest and study of the members of the Church." The articles are regarded as a brief expression, "in terms of present-day thought, of the great Christian certainties and of the Christian ideal of human life."

Since this document seems to the writer to express, more satisfactorily than any formula he has met, in confessional form the content of the gospel interpreted in the light of the experience of salvation, he submits both the articles of faith and his analysis of them.

I

1. *Concerning God.*—We believe in one Almighty God, Creator of all things, Father of all men, only Ruler and Judge of the world, holy and wise and loving. We believe it is His will that men should know Him; and through the life, death, and victory of the Lord Jesus Christ we have learned that God loves men, seeks their good, bears all their sorrows, suffers for their sins, and will triumph in His glorious purpose over all evil at the last.

[1] The *Quarterly Register,* Vol. XII. No. 5. Edinburgh, 44 Queen St.

2. *Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.*—We believe that God so loved the world that He gave His Son to be the Savior of Mankind. We believe that this very Son of God, for us men and for our salvation, became man in Jesus Christ, Who, having lived on earth the perfect human life, devoted wholly to the will of God and the service of man, died for our sins, rose again from the dead, and is now exalted Lord over all.

We believe that Jesus Christ is the Revealer of the Father, and that the mind of God towards the world must in all things be interpreted by the mind of Christ. We believe that when in our experience we are brought face to face with Jesus Christ we are in the presence of the eternal and holy God.

Therefore, with the Church of all ages, we worship Him together with the Father.

3. *Concerning the Holy Spirit.*—We believe that God through His Spirit is ever present in the lives of men, seeking them for Himself, rebuking their sinfulness, inspiring every right desire, and every effort after truth. We believe that all who seek God through Jesus Christ may in the Spirit have communion with Him by obedience, by prayer, and by the fellowship and Sacraments of the Church; and that by the same Spirit power is granted to all who ask it, giving them victory over sin, and transforming them into the likeness of Christ.

4. *Concerning the Holy Trinity.*—Thus knowing God through Jesus Christ His Son, and through the working of His Spirit in our lives, we acknowledge and adore one God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

5. *Concerning Providence.*—We believe, in face of the mysteries of an unfinished world, that God orders all things for perfectly wise and loving ends, that He

has every human life in His gracious and holy keeping, and will never forsake the work of His own hands. Inasmuch as He has given to men freedom of will, He is not responsible for their sins or for the miseries that come of these. Yet He is not defeated by our evil doings, but overrules all events for the furtherance of His supreme designs of good.

6. *Concerning the Kingdom of God.*—We believe that the unchangeable purpose of God is the establishing and perfecting of His Kingdom—a society ruled in all its parts by love and righteousness, a society of which Christ is King, and to which all belong who are themselves animated by His Spirit.

We believe that the Kingdom of God is already among us, and that the appointed task of all good men is to advance it, and to bring every relation of human life under the dominion of Christ. We believe that Christ is the true and only Lord of all mankind, and that those who confess Him are bound to make Him known till all the world acknowledge Him as Lord and King.

We believe that the Kingdom of God will finally dominate the life of man, and that in the world to come God will complete and perfect it, the Lord Jesus Christ being manifested in power and great glory.

7. *Concerning the Church.*—We believe that, as Jesus Christ gathered and still gathers round Him a fellowship of faith and love, it is His will that those who through Him believe in God should unite in a visible Church. We believe it to be His purpose that, through their common life of worship and service, they may learn to be like Him in faith, hope, and love, further the ends of His Kingdom, proclaim His Gospel

to all mankind, and be His fellow-workers in combating ignorance, pride, and covetousness, vice and disease, and every social injustice and public wrong.

We believe that the Catholic or Universal Church is the whole company of the redeemed, and we recognize as belonging to this fellowship all who are united to God through faith in Christ.

Of the visible Church, and every branch thereof, the only Head is the Lord Jesus Christ; and in its faith, order, discipline, and duty, it must be free to obey His holy will.

We receive, as Divine gifts to the Church, the Holy Scriptures and the Sacraments of the New Testament. We believe that through these Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—received with faith, there are conveyed to men the blessings of salvation.

8. *Concerning the Holy Scriptures.*—We believe that God has revealed Himself in nature, conscience, and history, so that never in any nation has He left Himself without witness. Yet the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments record a clear and ever-growing revelation of God as faithfully and unchangeably Redeemer, which is made complete in Christ; they therefore contain, in a supreme sense, the Word of God, and are needful for the full understanding of His purpose, for reconciliation with Him, and for life according to His will. Of this we are convinced by the witness of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men to and with the Word; and the Spirit of God, thus speaking from the Scriptures to believers and to the Church, is the supreme authority by which all opinions in religion are finally to be judged.

9. *Concerning Sin.*—We believe that the sin of man was no part of the purpose of God; yet that all men

are sinful, and that each of us has been guilty of willful and repeated sin. We acknowledge that sin separates men from God, and brings them under His condemnation and punishment; and that without His forgiveness and His patient and mighty help no man can deliver himself from either the guilt or the power of his sin.

10. *Concerning the Saving Love of God.*—We believe that from the beginning God has been patiently seeking the redemption of His children, and that through prophet and psalmist He made it clear that there is forgiveness with Him. But we believe that His eternal purpose to redeem has been fully made known in Jesus Christ, in whom God himself came among men to seek and to save that which was lost, and that in the death of the Cross He has shown us the malignity of sin and His antagonism thereto, but, above all, His love in putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

Therefore, with thankful devotion, we find in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ the assurance of God's forgiving grace, and learn that His holy love can only be satisfied with a holy life in those whom He forgives.

We believe that we are received into sonship and peace with God, not because of any good works or holiness on our part, as though we could deserve so great salvation, but only and altogether because of His infinite mercy, freely granted to all who repent and turn from their sins, and accept Jesus Christ as their Savior and Lord.

11. *Concerning Christian Sonship.*—We believe that all who receive the Gospel are called and enabled to live in fellowship with God as His children, to keep His commandments, to grow in knowledge of His love,

and to trust His fatherly care in every trial and perplexity, thereby in their whole life showing themselves thankful to God for all His gifts.

12. *Concerning the Life to Come.*—We believe that after death the soul continues to live, in the just and merciful keeping of Almighty God, Who will give to it a body as it pleases Him.

We believe that He, Who alone can read the heart, will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, and that wickedness will not go unpunished. We believe that those who accept the mercy of God will in His fellowship go on towards perfect holiness and blessedness. And, with glad and solemn hearts, we look for the consummation and bliss of the life everlasting, wherein the people of God, freed for ever from sin and sorrow, shall serve Him in the perfected communion of saints.

II

This statement comes, as it ought to come, from the mind and heart of a branch of the Christian Church, a body notable for its loyalty to Christ and the Scriptures, its adherence to the confessional standards of the Westminster Assembly (1647), its cultivation of the highest type of scholarship, and its wealth of works of faith and labors of love whose beneficent influence has been felt in many lands. To our knowledge, the United Free Church of Scotland has never been inclined to radicalism, whether of the rationalistic or the mystic type, but has always been soundly evangelical and still professes to be so. Accordingly, when its General Assembly commends a statement of the faith "to the interest and study of

the members of the Church," members of all Churches will take heed, and will pay respectful attention to the document.

It is to be clearly understood that the Confession has not been formally adopted, and that it is to be regarded neither as a substitute for an old confession nor as the beginning of a new one. It is simply "commended" for consideration and "study." In the concluding paragraph, the mood from which it comes, and in which the General Assembly commends it, is admirably defined. "These things," it is said, "as all else in our Christian faith, we hold in reverent submission to the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit Who is truth, and we shall ever seek of Him enlightenment and grace both to unlearn our errors and also more fully to learn the mind and will of God, to Whom be glory for ever and ever."

One feels in these words the spirit of caution and of courage,—caution not to follow unreservedly the directions of mere reason or to surrender unconditionally to the results of science; courage to be true to truth, from whatever source it may come. It is conceded, also, by implication, that the Church has not yet reached finality in its confessional statements; that there are "errors" to be unlearned, and that we are "to learn the mind and will of God" more completely. All this is to be accomplished, not indeed without human effort, always under "the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit."

The fact that such a statement has been presented and commended by an authorized ecclesiastical assembly shows that there is a deeply felt need for it. Too long perhaps has the Church remained silent, or ignored with stolid indifference the necessity of a

statement of the "great Christian certainties and of the Christian ideal of human life" in terms of contemporary thought. True, such statements have been made by individuals or by schools, but usually at their peril and not infrequently with much disapproval. Now, for once, a General Assembly takes courage to commend a statement of the Church's faith, at least "to the interest and study of the members of the Church." However circumspectly the commendation is made, it none the less marks a step in advance, and indicates a readiness to face the doctrinal issues of the times that has rarely, if at all, been shown by the supreme judicatory of an evangelical church of this generation. The time, we trust, is rapidly passing when the Churches will permit men and groups who have no experimental knowledge of the gospel, and who have no sympathy with the best Christian traditions of the centuries, to tell the world what the Christian faith is and what the Christian Church ought to be. Scientists, philosophers, spiritualists, socialists, non-churchmen of the better and the baser sort, have been quick to define Christianity, to make light of the Churches, and to offer more palatable substitutes for the gospel of Jesus Christ. Progress, safe and sane, after the analogy of the seed, the ear, and the full corn in the ear, can be made only when the Church herself will be true to her perennial mission and set forth in terms of modern thought the larger revelations of the Spirit of Truth,—the great Christian certainties, becoming ever more certain,—in relation to the undeniable results of modern science and the new issues of modern life. Pagan intrusions and Jewish remnants must be eliminated, neglected truths restored, and new truths incorporated; and all truths

must be related to one another. In this way only can we steer clear of the Scylla of reaction and the Charybdis of radicalism; and move forward, loyal to the past, open-minded to the present, true to the future.

Let us examine the form and content of the new statement. For both its brevity and its comprehensiveness it will make a favorable appeal to the modern man. It is much longer than the Apostles' Creed, and much shorter than any of the three Westminster Standards. The Westminster Confession has thirty-three chapters and, with footnotes, covers 128 octavo pages. The Larger Catechism has 196 questions and answers, and the Shorter Catechism 107, many of which are longer than the longest article in the new confession.

Like the Apostles' Creed, it is composed of twelve articles. The first six have to do with God,—His nature and disposition, His Son, His Spirit, His triune Being, His Providence, His Kingdom; the last six, with the ways and means by which God's redemptive purpose is realized,—the Church, the Scriptures, Sin and Forgiveness, Redemption, Christian Sonship, Eternal Life. These topics represent the great Christian certainties and the Christian ideal of life, and are presumably set forth "in terms of present-day thought."

Each article begins with a *credimus* (we believe). In the Fourth Article, however, Concerning The Holy Trinity, substantially the same idea is affirmed in the words, "we acknowledge and adore one God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." The underlying assumption clearly is, that the content of faith comes from God through Christ by the mediation of his Spirit and word into the consciousness of the Church or the com-

munity of believers. Not the individual alone, but the believers as a group or body possess the substance of the faith, as is implied by the words "we believe." A confession is a revelation on the one hand, and an affirmation of faith on the other. Nothing that must be proved by logical process, historical investigation, miraculous signs, or dictatorial pronouncements, ought to be made an essential part of a creed. For only that belongs to a creed that is credible or believable, that will approve itself in the believer by a life of faith working in love with the patience of hope. In the words of the Eighth Article:

> Of this we are convinced by the witness of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men to and with the Word; and the Spirit of God, thus speaking from the Scriptures to believers and to the Church, is the supreme authority by which all opinions in religion are finally to be judged.

Our Christian assurance, therefore, is based upon revelation and faith, not upon the conclusions of reason, mystic visions, ecclesiastical decrees, and scientific discoveries. These have their place in the life of man and the progress of the race, but the great verities of the gospel must forever be comprehended by the life of faith. In the understanding of religious truth the "wise and prudent" are subject to the same conditions as "babes." Revelation is an act of God, a deliberate approach to man, and is consummated in and through Christ. It is therefore continuous, as long as God saves men and men seek God.

Article I. says:

> We believe it is His will that men should know Him; and through the life, death and victory of the Lord Jesus Christ we have learned that God loves men, seeks their good,

bears all their sorrows, suffers for their sins, and will triumph in His glorious purpose over all evil at the last.

The distinctive character of this tentative statement of the Faith will appear when we compare it with one of the older orthodox symbols, like the Westminster Confession; and with one of the recent utterances of liberalism, like the address of Charles W. Eliot on "The Religion of the Future." The comparison will show that the Statement is substantially orthodox, without the metaphysical dogmatism of the former; and yet soundly liberal in tendency, without the rationalism of the latter. In other words, it is progressively evangelical, fully as much in harmony with the Scriptures as are the ancient creeds and the Protestant confessions, and far more satisfactory to the Christian consciousness of to-day than many of the articles in the traditional dogmas. In relation to the Westminster Confession, the Statement arrests attention by its silences; in relation to Eliot's "The Religion of the Future," by its positive affirmations.

The four articles on God affirm those attributes which one must accept, in order to have confidence in the saving and sanctifying work of God; and which only those who experience his salvation can discern and understand. They include the experimental truths of the trinitarian doctrine, the things about God that are historically revealed through Christ and can be known by every believer with the certainty that faith alone gives. God is declared to be one, Almighty, Creator of all things, Father of all men, only Ruler and Judge of the world, holy and wise and loving. These qualities in God receive their true significance when viewed in relation to his redemptive purpose as mani-

fested in Jesus Christ; for we are told, that "through the life, death, and victory of the Lord Jesus Christ we have learned that God loves men, seeks their good, bears all their sorrows, suffers for their sins, and will triumph in His glorious purpose over all evil at the last." Thus, God is interpreted through Christ, not through the processes of the cosmic order or through the speculations of the philosophic mind; in other words, these articles give a truly christological and soteriological explanation of the Deity.

One will have to go a long way to find a sublimer definition of God than is made in the Second Chapter of the Westminster Confession. It is far more comprehensive and detailed than the First Article of the new Statement. In the Second Section, we read:

> God hath all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any creatures which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto, and upon them: he is the alone fountain of all being, of whom, through whom, and to whom, are all things; and hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, and upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth. In his sight all things are open and manifest; his knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature, so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is most holy in all his counsels, in all his works, and in all his commands. To him is due from angels and men, and every other creature, whatsoever worship, service, or obedience he is pleased to require of them.

These characteristics of God are assumed to be taken from the Bible. The Westminster Confession is, therefore, Biblio-centric, in distinction from the Statement, which is Christo-centric. In this respect,

of course, the two confessions rest upon wholly different premises, and yet they do not necessarily contradict each other. The older simply goes far beyond the reach of the later document in its affirmations about God. All that is said in the former may be true; but one cannot escape the feeling that the Westminster Fathers in their definition of God were describing God, not merely as revealed in Christ and as made known by him to "babes," but as interpreted by the Nicene philosophers and by John Calvin, with primary concern for the essence of his being, his sovereignty, and his glory. Theirs is a definition of God that exceeds the Christian revelation and the experience of Christian salvation, and from some points of which devout Christians have always differed and may always differ. It is rather philosophical than christological; and, therefore, it belongs not to a confession of faith,—which clearly ought to contain only what the believer can experience,—but to a system of theology, where Christians ought to be allowed freedom for speculation and room for differences of opinion.

Mr. Charles W. Eliot, in "The Religion of the Future," sets forth the idea of God from the liberal scientific point of view.

> The new thought of God [he says] will be its [religion's] most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy, and the biological conception of Vital Force. . . . The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force; but this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him and the least particle of his creation.

In his moral attributes, he is for every man the multiplication to infinity of all the noblest, tenderest, and most potent qualities which that man has ever seen or imagined in a human being. In this sense every man makes his own picture of God.

Mr. Eliot does not profess to define God through the Bible, through Christ, or through the Christian consciousness; but through the human reason, based upon human experience in all ages, and upon the results of scientific investigation. He speaks "of the scientific doctrine of one omnipresent, eternal energy, informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time and throughout the infinite spaces." Such is the view of God of a scientist who has religious inclinations, and in his view he is doubtless as nearly right as the theologian with philosophic propensities. What the scientist and the philosopher say about God may be all true, and doubtless must be recognized and weighed by the Christian theologian; but neither the philosophical theologian nor the theological scientist is in a position to prepare a confession of faith of which each article begins with a *credimus* (we believe). We may speculate about Mr. Eliot's God, schools may discuss him; but when men seek a God who saves, who comforts, who is merciful, who inspires hope, they will find full satisfaction only in a God who is like Jesus and in a Savior who is like God.

The Statement of Faith before us differs from the definition of God in the older confessions and in the modern philosophies. It sets forth a God who is neither a blend of the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless energy, and the biological conception of vital force; nor a compound of Jewish prophecy,

Christian revelation, Greek philosophy, oriental mysteries, and Roman law, such as has become a part of the dogmatic tradition of the Church. It rests content with God as manifested in Jesus, through whose "life, death, and victory . . . we have learned that God loves men, seeks their good, bears all their sorrows, suffers for their sins, and will triumph in his glorious purpose over all evil at the last." Many questions may, and must be, raised by theologians and philosophers, but neither the problems nor the solutions belong to a confession of faith.

In Article II.—Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ,—there is a clear affirmation of faith in his divine mission, Sonship, and Saviorhood, in the reality of his manhood and his life on earth, the perfection of his character in devoting himself wholly to the will of God and the service of man, in his death "for our sins," in his resurrection from the dead, and in His exaltation as "Lord over all." Each of these facts or acts is based on God's redemptive love for the world.

Jesus Christ is Son and Savior, and he becomes "the Revealer of the Father" in such a way that God's "mind toward the world must in all things be interpreted by the mind of Christ"; yea more, "when in our experience we are brought face to face with Jesus Christ, we are in the presence of the eternal and holy God."

These statements contain the substance of the Nicene and the Chalcedonian creeds and of the Protestant confessions, without the metaphysical premises or definitions that sound so strange to the modern man. Those premises are neither denied nor affirmed: they are simply omitted,—omitted doubtless because in a confession one should have only the facts

and works of Christ that enter into the experience of salvation; not the theories of his person and work, which belong to dogmatic theology alone. Only those characteristics of Jesus Christ are defined which man needs in a Savior, experiences in being saved, and which are common to that experience in all the churches.

What we mean by the metaphysical premises and definitions relating to the person and work of Christ becomes evident when we turn to Chapter VIII.—Of Christ, the Mediator, in the Westminster Confession. Sections II. and III. in particular. There we are told that

> the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin; being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, of her substance. So that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion. Which person is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man.

This, of course, will be recognized as largely a condensation of the Nicene and the Chalcedonian creeds. It is, also, an interpretation of the person of Christ in philosophic terms, many of which were foreign to the writers of the New Testament.

One will at once observe the omission in the new Creed of terms that are prominent in the old; as, for example, "the second person in the Trinity," "of one substance and equal with the Father"; "being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb

of the Virgin Mary, of her substance"; "two whole, perfect, and distinct natures . . . were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion." Silence or omission, however, does not imply denial. But the new Creed holds itself to historical, religious, and experimental truth,—which is spiritually discerned. Indeed, it affirms, without room for doubt, the qualities of Christ which the metaphysical statements of the earlier creeds were supposed to substantiate,—the reality of his Godhead and his manhood: "We believe that this very Son of God, for us men and for our salvation, became man in Jesus Christ." So much belongs to a creed: more than that belongs to the theologian and the metaphysician.

While the Statement omits much—but nothing essential—that is in the earlier creeds and confessions, it affirms far more than a Unitarian like Mr. Eliot admits into his "The Religion of the Future." He says: "There will be in the religion of the future . . . no identification of any human being, however majestic in character, with the Eternal Deity." At another place he adds: "God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him and the least particle of his creation. In his moral attributes, he is for every man the multiplication to infinity of all the noblest, tenderest, and most potent qualities which that man has ever seen or imagined in a human being. In this sense every man makes his own picture of God." There is, doubtless, an element of truth in this view of the divine presence and attributes; but the new Creed goes much further, and would by no means be content with President Eliot's position. As far as the identifi-

cation of a human being with the Deity is concerned, that is clearly recognized in the declarations, "God so loved the world that He gave His Son to be the Savior of mankind," and, "we worship Him together with the Father." As to the way of knowing God,—man does not merely make his own picture of him, nor does he "discover God through self-consciousness"; but we are very emphatically told that "Jesus Christ is the Revealer of the Father, and that the mind of God towards the world must in all things be interpreted by the mind of Christ. We believe, when in our experience we are brought face to face with Jesus Christ, that we are in the presence of the eternal and holy God." Statements like these will protect the new Creed against charges of rationalism on the one hand, and of traditionalism on the other; but will justify the claim that it is liberally evangelical.

In the new Confession nothing is said in the abstract about the essential relation of the Holy Spirit to the Godhead, his procession from the Father or the Son, the nature of his person or substance. One seeks in vain for terms found in Chapter II. Section III. of the Westminster Confession:

> In the Unity of the Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Spirit eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son.

The words and phrases of this section are taken from metaphysics, not from the records of revelation and religious experience. Although they are omitted from the new Confession, it none the less emphasizes

the reality of the Spirit of God, the presence of his Spirit "in the lives of men, seeking them for Himself, rebuking their sinfulness, inspiring every right desire, and every effort after truth." Attention is directed wholly to what the Spirit *does,* and not primarily to what the Spirit *is.* The way of access to God is said to be through Jesus Christ *"in the Spirit."* Through him men may enter into communion with God,—not by magic, mystical or sacramental, but "by obedience, by prayer, and by the fellowship and Sacraments of the Church." Ethical living, with the practice of prayer and the observance of the Sacraments, is the condition for fellowship with God in the Spirit. By the same Spirit "power is granted to all who ask it, giving them victory over sins and transforming them into the likeness of Christ." Thus the whole of the Christian life is lived in the Spirit,—a fact which is proved by the New Testament and by Christian experience in all ages. On the basis of this experience, faith in the Holy Trinity is declared as follows: "Thus knowing God through Jesus Christ His Son, and through the working of His Spirit in our lives, we acknowledge and adore one God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." The Trinity, therefore, is assumed to be a personal experience of God, through Christ, and of the working of his Spirit in our lives; then only can men define it in a doctrine. The experience is permanent; the absence of it would indicate dearth, or indeed the death, of Christianity: but the doctrinal definition of it may vary from age to age.

The rationalist, in his protest against a one-sided and magical supernaturalism, reduces the Spirit of God to the cosmic spirit; which of course may be divine, pervading the universe and the mind of man.

He fails, however, to recognize the distinctive quality, mode of operation, and effects, of the redemptive and sanctifying work of the Spirit of God working through Christ in men,—the Spirit that "is ever present in the lives of men, seeking men for Himself, rebuking their sinfulness, inspiring every right desire and every effort after truth," enabling men to enter into communion with God, and granting them power to overcome sin and to become Christlike.

Mr. Emerson, in his Divinity School Address, 1838, says:

> In the soul then let redemption be sought.

Professor Emerton, in speaking of salvation, says:

> It is the redemption of man's lower self by the domination of his higher self. It is the spiritual redeeming the material, the divine that is in every man redeeming the animal.

President Eliot says:

> In the future religion there will be nothing "supernatural." This does not mean that life will be stripped of mystery or wonder, or that the range of natural law has been finally determined; but that religion, like all else, must conform to natural law so far as the range of law has been determined. In this sense the religion of the future will be a natural religion. In all its theory and all its practice it will be completely natural.

There is force in this protest against a supernaturalism which was blind to the reign of law, and resolved providence and salvation into a succession of miracles. The protest, however, goes too far, much farther than the new Confession. The only admitted alternative

to supernaturalism of the theological kind is naturalism of the scientific kind. Yet we believe that there is in supernaturalism a truth not conserved in mere naturalism. There is a way of fellowship with God through Christ in the Spirit, a power of salvation, that is more than natural, more than Eliot's "communion with the great Spirit, with the spirits of the departed, and with living fellowmen of all kinds." This way is at the same time truly human and truly divine, and widely different from the ecclesiastical supernaturalism that prevailed in medieval times.

The new Confession, by its silences and its affirmations, protests against Eliot's naturalism and the traditional supernaturalism. It affirms the supremacy of the Spirit of God through Christ in man,—a law of Christ, a way of the Christian life, which does not contradict the order of nature, but supersedes and transcends it, and which cannot be brought within the range of what is called "natural law."

In the article on Providence attention is at once arrested by the distinctively modern clause, "in face of the mysteries of an unfinished world." Here is a new view of creation, of a world in process and a God at work, instead of a world finished and a God at rest. It is the genetic, in place of the static, conception of the universe. The Westminster Confession occupies a wholly different point of view when it says:

> It pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, . . . to create, or make of nothing, the world, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good (Chap. IV. 1).

Observe the time limit of creation, and also the goodness or completeness of everything that was

created. The difficulties which the Westminster Confession raises for the modern man—yea, for boys and girls of our High Schools who are taught the sciences—are not raised by a flat recognition of "the mysteries of an unfinished world." Yet the great fact of divine providence, the heart of religion and especially of Christianity, is maintained in indubitable language that ought to satisfy the faith of Christians everywhere. We are told that "God orders all things for perfectly wise and loving ends"; that "He has every human life in His gracious and holy keeping"; and that "He will never forsake the work of His own hands."

The purpose, or controlling motive, of providence, also, differs from the position of the Westminster Confession, which says that "God, the creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, . . . to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy." God's glory is the supreme motive of his providence. The new Statement is silent about his glory: it speaks only of God ordering "all things for perfectly wise and loving ends." What those "ends" are, is implied in the clause, "that He has every human life in His gracious and holy keeping, and will never forsake the work of His own hands." Even the sins of men and their consequences, he will overrule "for the furtherance of His supreme designs of good."

One can with difficulty reconcile such affirmations about God's care for "every human life" with the Westminster Confession, Chapter III. 3, 4, 5, which says:

> By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. . . . Those

of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory.

Here the motive and scope of God's providence are defined from wholly different premises: even the character and disposition of God seem to be different. The Christian of to-day doubtless will look with favor upon the Fifth Article of the new Creed, the more he compares it with the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Chapters of the Westminster Confession.

Turning to Mr. Eliot's "The Religion of the Future," we find positive affirmations of belief in divine providence. He recognizes that there is an "infinite Spirit immanent in the universe"; that "the soul of the universe finds its perfect bliss and efficiency in supreme and universal love and service"; that there "is evidence in the moral history of the human race that a loving God rules the universe"; and that "trust in this supreme rule is genuine consolation and support under many human trials and sufferings." The difference between this view of providence and that of the new Confession is in the presuppositions from which the two views proceed. The view of Mr. Eliot is based wholly on "an infinite Spirit immanent in the universe" and on the "evidence in the moral history of the human race that a loving God rules the universe." Those are the bases generally recognized by the easy-going optimism of rationalism. There is a marked silence about the revelation in Jesus of a Christlike God, the heavenly Father, feeding the birds, clothing the lilies, counting the hairs of the head. All this may be considered merely a picturesque way of ex-

pressing one's faith in the goodness of an "infinite Spirit immanent in the universe": but the faith in providence of Christian men and women in all ages was based on the revelation of God in Jesus, the assurances of his word; and not upon philosophic ideas of divine immanence, though defined in ethical terms.

One of the most distinctive features of the new Confession is the article on The Kingdom of God and its relation to the article on The Church. Hitherto, Catholic and Protestant creeds and confessions considered the Kingdom and the Church under one heading, identifying the two. The Westminster Confession (Chapter 25:2) speaks of the "visible Church" . . . as "the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ." On this point it is in agreement with all earlier confessions. The new Statement, however, is true to the comparatively recent conception of the relation of the Kingdom and the Church.

God's "unchangeable purpose" is "the establishing and perfecting of His Kingdom," which is "a society ruled in all its parts by love and righteousness, a society of which Christ is king." The condition for membership in this society is, to be "animated by His Spirit." Furthermore, the Kingdom is declared to be "already among us," and yet here only in its beginnings. The task of the Christian is "to advance it," and that involves the bringing of "every relation of human life under the dominion of Christ." Yea, "the Kingdom of God will finally dominate the life of man." It is not complete and perfect here and now, and may never be; but "in the world to come God will complete and perfect it."

What is the Church, and what is its mission? The Church is "a fellowship of faith and love" gathered

round him by Jesus Christ. The condition for membership in the visible Church is faith in God "through Him." It is God's will that those who are members of the Church are to become, "through their common life of worship and service," like him in faith, hope, and love; but far more, they are to "further the ends of His Kingdom, proclaim His Gospel to all mankind, and be His fellow-workers in combating ignorance, pride and covetousness, vice and disease, and every social injustice and public wrong." We suggest that this concluding sentence of the first paragraph of the Seventh Article be changed so as to read, "and be His fellow-workers in promoting knowledge, humility, charity, virtue, and health, and every form of social justice and right."

Thank God for such a statement in a confession! perhaps the first of its kind in the history of creeds. It is a call not merely to salvation, but to enlistment in the service of Christ for the propagation of the gospel and for a holy crusade against "ignorance, pride, and covetousness, vice and disease, and every social injustice and public wrong." This is an entirely new conception of the mission of the Church: its end is not in itself, but in something beyond it,—in the reign of "love and righteousness, a society of which Jesus is King."

Compare these ideas of the Church and the Kingdom with the statements about the Church in the Westminster Confession (Chapters 25 and 26), and you cannot help but feel the difference of atmosphere of the seventeenth and the twentieth century Christians.

Unto this catholic visible Church [say the Westminster Fathers] Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the

saints, in this life, to the end of the world; and doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto.

In the Chapter, Of the Communion of Saints, the task set for the members of the Church is defined in these words:

And, being united to one another in love, they have communion in each other's gifts and grace; and are obliged to the performance of such duties, public and private, as do conduce to their mutual good, both in the inward and outward man. Saints, by profession, are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion, in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification; as also in relieving each other in outward things; according to their several abilities and necessities.

According to these definitions, the primary purpose of the "catholic visible Church" is "the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world"; and this is to be accomplished through "the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God" which Christ hath given to the Church. Once the saints are in the Church, they are obliged to help one another, *i.e.,* to perform "such duties, public and private, as do conduce to their mutual good, both in the inward and outward man, . . . to maintain an holy fellowship and communion, in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification; as also in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities." Not a word is said about missions, or about bringing "every relation of human life under the dominion of Christ." All that the Westminster Confession requires, is that the saints care for *them-*

selves and for *one another:* about "all mankind," and about the Kingdom of God dominating "the life of man" as a whole, there is not the faintest trace of thought or concern. The scope of the Church according to the Westminster Confession is necessarily defined in the light of Chapter III.—Of God's Eternal Decree, which says:

> By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

Of course, the Church, which is the community of the elect, must limit itself to saving and sanctifying only those who "are predestinated unto everlasting life." Why waste time and energy on those whom God himself has forsaken and "foreordained to everlasting death"? From such premises no one can consistently hold the view of the Kingdom of God defined in the new Confession.

The view of the Kingdom and the Church in the new Statement is no more—and in many respects less—in harmony with the socialism of to-day than with the individualism of the Westminster Confession. There are, of course, so-called Christian socialists, but these are usually ignored by the orthodox socialists and are often suspected by the organized Christians,—too Christian for the one, and too socialistic for the other. The typical socialist of the Marxian or Bolshevistic type reduces the idea of the Kingdom to a temporal order, in which justice is to prevail, which is to be attained by legal and economic means, in which egoism is supreme and religion is ignored or denounced. The idea of the regeneration of the individual by the Spirit of God through Christ, and of

the Church as the medium through which the Kingdom is to be realized, is foreign to the thought of the consistent socialist; and, if proposed, he will give it scant attention. He would not be prepared to say, in the words of the Confession, "We believe that the Kingdom of God is already among us, and that the appointed task of all good men is to advance it, and to bring every relation of human life under dominion of Christ." What is there in common between Trotzky and Jesus?

The decisive test of a confession is its doctrine of sin and salvation. On these points the Statement is decidedly evangelical. It affirms the fact and the devastation of sin without defining a theory of its origin, save for the declaration, "that the sin of man was no part of the purpose of God." It announces the sinfulness of all, and each one's guilt "of willful and repeated sin." The effect of sin is separation of men from God, and his condemnation and punishment. Deliverance comes not by "any good works or holiness on our part, as though we could deserve so great salvation, but only and altogether because of his infinite mercy, freely granted to all who repent and turn from their sins, and accept Jesus Christ as their Savior and Lord." The significance of the cross is defined in words like these, "that in the death of the Cross He has shown us the malignity of sin and His antagonism thereto, but, above all, His love in putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." But in the cross we are not only to find "the assurance of God's forgiving grace," but to "learn that His holy love can only be satisfied with a holy life in those whom He forgives." In these statements the confession rings true to the evangelical idea of sin and salvation, and yet differs

in many respects from the doctrine in the earlier Protestant confessions.

As an example of these, we shall cite again from the Westminster Confession, Chapter VI.—

> Our first parents, being seduced by the subtilty and temptation of Satan, sinned in eating the forbidden fruit. This their sin God was pleased, according to his wise and holy counsel, to permit, having purposed to order it to his own glory.

For this theory of the origin and purpose of sin the new confession has only a single clause,—"that the sin of man was no part of the purpose of God." Not a word is said about "our first parents," about the "subtilty and temptation of Satan," about "eating the forbidden fruit," about God permitting sin and ordering it "to his own glory."

In describing the work of redemption the Westminster Confession is far more explicit than the new Statement. The former assures us (Chapter VIII. 5) that—

> The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, . . . hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him.

Of course, the redemption of Christ becomes effectual only in "all those whom God hath predestinated unto life"; "others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved."

The new Confession says nothing about the elect

and the non-elect, about effectual calling, justification, adoption, sanctification, and the perseverance of the saints. "Sonship and peace with God" are freely offered to all men, and the only condition for their enjoyment is repentance and acceptance of "Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord." Doubtless many questions may be raised by sinner and saint, some of which the Fathers tried to answer in the Westminster Standards and which the new Confession does not even mention; but these are for the philosophers and the theologians, not for a confession of faith.

The new Statement is far removed from all forms of rationalism; which resolves sin into error, imperfection or transgression of law instead of into an offense against God as revealed in Christ, and offers salvation by moral effort, intellectual culture, or natural evolution. These ideas have been held by Christian minorities from the days of Jewish Christians to modern humanists. The Confession before us can never be reduced to that level. Sin and salvation are defined not merely in terms of human experience, but in terms of Christ, in terms of his forgiveness, based upon his infinite mercy, and of his sacrifice on the cross. Only those who accept the mercy of God have life eternal and will attain "perfect holiness and blessedness."

Space will not permit me to consider the article on the Holy Scriptures, which is so felicitously phrased and in every way so true to the best results of Christian experience and modern scholarship. We venture, however, to suggest a change in the last sentence of Article III. which stands as follows: "We believe that through these Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—received with faith, there are conveyed

to men the blessings of salvation." In place of the words "are conveyed," we propose the words "signified and sealed," for we believe these would be truer to the spirit of the Confession as a whole and to the evangelical idea of the Sacraments.

One will naturally compare this document with the Lambeth report on Christian Unity. Both are recent, and yet they differ so widely in content and in their immediate purpose that a comparison is hardly possible. Yet, when it comes to a judgment of value for promoting Christian unity, the writer places the Confession far above the Lambeth Appeal. In the Confession one finds the results of generations of intellectual and spiritual struggles for reconciliation of the eternal truths of the gospel with the accredited results of scientific and philosophic investigation and thought. It is a far cry, indeed, from the Westminster Assembly (1647) to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland (1921). There is a difference not merely in years, but in Christian experience and thought;—a difference that is being felt more and more by Christians in all lands. In this Confession the difference is clearly stated, and yet the essence and continuity of a truly catholic and evangelical Christianity are preserved. On the other hand, the Lambeth Appeal in its doctrinal position is static, if not reactionary. It builds its hopes for the union of the churches on the Nicene Creed: it looks backward. It shrinks from so positive and modern an utterance as has been commended by the General Assembly of the United Free Church. It pleads for an institution that may be venerable enough indeed,—I refer to apostolic succession,—but that ought not to be made an indispensable condition for the union

of churches. It is our conviction that the way to closer fellowship requires more than a loyal adherence to past institutions; it needs a constructive interpretation "of the great Christian certainties and of the Christian ideal of human life," such as is attempted in this Brief Statement of the Church's Faith.

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